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ABSTRACT

The eighth volume in this series contains seven articles dealing with various aspects of Serbo-Croatian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "A System of English Prepositions and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents," by Ranko Bugarski; "Demonstratives in Serbo-Croat to English Translational Conversion," by Zeljko Bujas; "Adjective Comparison in English and Correspondent Structures in Serbo-Croatian," by Vladimir Ivir; "Contrastive and Non-Contrastive Aspects of Aspect," by Midhat Ridjanovic; "Some Serbo-Croatian Equivalents of the English Passive," by Leonardo Spalatin; "Indefinites in English and Serbo-Croatian," by Vjekslav Suzanic; and "Relative Clauses in English and Croatian," by Mladen Vitezic. (CLK)

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THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT
Director: Professor Rudolf Filipović, Ph. D.

REPORTS

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A. REPORTS

8

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ZAGREB, 1973

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A SYSTEM OF ENGLISH PREPOSITIONS AND THEIR SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS

0.1. Prepositions are a notoriously difficult subject. One reason for this was succinctly noted a long time ago by the authors of the Port-Royal Grammar: 'No one language has followed on the subject of prepositions what reason seems to require, which is that one relation should be marked only by one preposition, and that the same preposition should not mark more than one relation' (1753:86). If this is true of any one language, then a comparison of any two is likely to compound the resulting problems. That this is indeed so has long been known by language teachers, and perhaps especially by teachers of English as a foreign language, who have consistently found it difficult to teach English prepositions. Another major source of trouble in studying and teaching prepositions is the fact, likewise well-known, that these are often idiomatic - which is a way of saying that their use is governed by no apparent logic, relational or otherwise.

0.2. The contrastive analyst's task, hard enough in itself, is not made easier by the fact that prepositions in particular tend to be poorly described even for languages, such as English, that are generally among the best-studied. In this situation, practically any attempt is likely to wander soon into unexplored territory.

1.1. This paper constitutes an attempt to say something in broadly contrastive terms about one particular subsystem of English and Serbo-Croatian prepositions - that including principally over, under, above and below, with their equivalents in the other language. Such

a choice was made because enough preliminary work had already been done for one of the two languages: this English system has been described in some detail, and in a way which seemed suitable as a basis for contrastive analysis (see Bugarski 1969a). Since there exists no comparable description of the corresponding area of Serbo-Croatian, it is at this stage impossible, strictly speaking, to contrast the two systems. This being the case, the English system is outlined first, and then the main translation equivalents for its individual members are listed - a procedure reflected in the paper's title. However, the main outlines of the Serbo-Croatian system too will be seen to emerge in the process.[1] While statements about the latter are necessarily tentative, what is said on the side of English rests upon thorough-going independent research and is to that extent less provisional by comparison.

1.2. Over, under, above and below form the nucleus of the subsystem of English prepositions which covers vertical orientation in space, and from which temporal and other transferred meanings are derived in various directions. The zero point or level with respect to such orientation falls outside the particular subsystem. It may be pointed out, however, that the central term between over and under would be on (with its variant upon) and possibly also on top of, although any of these may on occasion be roughly synonymous with over, and the last may also be opposed to underneath, a stylistic alternative for under in its local meanings. The central term between above and below is at, but in this case there is no internal overlap whatever - i.e., above can under no circumstances mean the same as at. Beneath is another stylistically marked but less restricted substitute for under, which may by extension also replace below. Vertical motion rather than position, typically expressed by up and down, is here excluded

from consideration, as forming a distinct subsystem.

1.3. Clearly, the system outlined rests on the functioning of the two complementary and partially overlapping oppositions, above/below and over/under. Perhaps less obviously, the terms of the former opposition are far more systematically related to each other than are those of the latter. This has been shown in a separate study (Bugarski 1969b); the significance of the fact will, however, also emerge to some extent in the discussion below.

2.1. Essentially, above and below indicate position that is, respectively, higher and lower than that of the point of reference, and possibly also to the side of it. The opposition hangs on the notion of a scale, or graded vertical continuum, with the zero point separating the domain of above from that of below. The two objects thus related are typically not in contact, and their mutual independence connotes detachment. In the comparatively rare cases when there is a suggestion of vertical movement, above looks higher up and below deeper down. This general sense is specialised and extended in various ways.

2.2. In Serbo-Croatian there are two candidates for a corresponding opposition: iznad/ispod and nad/pod. It will be apparent from the lists given in the next two sections and from the arguments presented in sections 4.3-5 below that it is the former opposition rather than the latter which typically corresponds to above/below. This is not to deny, of course, that in many individual instances within certain classes of use above can also be translated as nad and below as pod. The opposition više/niže also operates here, but is apparently, in contemporary standard Serbo-Croatian, rather rare and stylistically marked. Other possibilities are highly restricted.

2.3. The situation just summarized is illustrated by selected examples in this and the following section. These examples, as well as those to be given in what follows for all the prepositions considered, illustrate the main semantic categories of each preposition as established in Bugarski (1969a). Full description and documentation of these categories for English, with many more examples, can be found in that corpus-based study. The English examples cited in this paper are taken from that source, but have for the present purpose been adapted and provided with the author's Serbo-Croatian translations. It is by no means claimed that in each sentence the Serbo-Croatian preposition is the only acceptable equivalent of the English one. While this is true for many of the sentences, in a large number of cases there could be alternatives. In such cases, often not overtly identified in any way, the preposition used should be understood to be, in the author's judgement, the typical one for that kind of context. Only in a few instances, usually involving occasional alternatives external to the system investigated, are possible substitutes supplied in brackets.

ABOVE

(1) The moon was high above the forest - Mesec je bio visoko iznad šume.

(2) He often fished above the bridge - Često je lovio ribu iznad (više) mosta.

(3) She stood above the child's body - Stajala je nad detinjim telom.

(4) His head was above water - Glava mu je bila iznad vode.

(5) All the officers were above that rank - Svi oficiri bili su iznad tog ranga.

(6) The total was above ten pounds - Ukupan iznos bio je iznad (preko, više od) deset funti.

(7) Above all, he was rich - Iznad svega, bio je bogat.[2]

2.4. BELOW

(8) He lived in the flat below theirs - Stanovao je u stanu ispod njihovog.

(9) Below that village on the same road was another - Ispod (niže) tog sela na istom putu bilo je još jedno.

(10) They were below the hill-top - Bili su pod vrhom brda.

(11) The orchestra spoke from below ground - Orkestar se oglasi ispod zemlje.

(12) She moved in circles below these - Kretala se u krugovima ispod ovih.

(13) Nobody was below eighty - Niko nije imao ispod (manje od) osamdeset godina.

3.1. The opposition over/under presents a considerably less straightforward and more diversified picture, both in the semantic structure of English and in contrastive terms. Over and under do not inherently refer to points on a scale but to domains on the two sides of a horizontal plane, typically in actual or potential contact with it and often involving various kinds of motion. The connotation is in this case one of interrelation rather than detachment, with over characteristically looking down and under looking up. This opposition can be conceptualized as including the opposition above/below in the sense of an abstract system of coordinates lying at its heart. The untypical but nevertheless substantial class of cases where corresponding terms in the two oppositions are more or less synonymous can thus be drawn from this area of overlap. In the case of over/under, the general sense indicated is specified in a considerably richer array of ways, ranging from dif-

ferent purely spatial ones to the most transferred.

3.2. Very roughly speaking, over covers three large areas of meaning, which may be symbolized, respectively, by the prepositions above, on, and across. (Depending on various contextual and other constraints, in individual instances there may or may not be actual commutability with these). In Serbo-Croatian, the first area is most characteristically covered by nad (sometimes iznad), the second by po, na and some meanings of preko, and the third by preko in most of its meanings. In all three areas there are occasionally other possibilities, especially in metaphorical transfer; these include kroz, kraj, za, uz, zbog, u and others. The arrangement and breakdown of the following examples is roughly in accordance with the three areas (A, B and C in the order stated).

OVER - A

(14) The mirror is over the fireplace - Ogledalo je iznad kamina.

(15) The clouds were hanging over the roofs - Oblaci su se nadvili nad krovove.

(16) Planes flew over Belgrade - Avioni su leteli nad Beogradom.

(17) She had a strange power over him - Imala je čudnu moć nad njim.

(18) He brooded over his prospects - Duboko se zamislio nad svojim izgledima.

(19) They sat over dinner - Sedeli su za ručkom.

(20) He was fired over it - Otpušten je zbog toga.

(21) They behaved well over the matter - Dobro su se ponели u toj stvari.

(22) Everybody over forty was declared unfit - Svi iznad (preko) četrdeset godina proglašeni su nesposobnim.

- B

(23) He spilled his beer over her dress - Prosuo je pivo po njenoj haljini.

(24) He entered with his coat over his arm - Ušao je s kaputom preko ruke.

(25) He pulled the shirt over his head - Navukao je košulju preko glave.

(26) He wore a coat over his shirt - Nosio je kaput preko košulje.

(27) He put his hand over her mouth - Stavi joj ruku na usta.

(28) Dust lay over the furniture - Prašina je ležala po (na) nameštaju.

(29) The plague swept over the whole country - Kuga je harala po celoj zemlji.

(30) He had scars all over his face - Po celom licu imao je ožiljke.

(31) We were shown over the house - Proveli su nas po kući (kroz kuću).

- C

(32) He dangled his legs over the parapet - Opustio je noge preko ograde.

(33) He was pushed over the edge - Gurnuše ga preko ivice.

(34) They climbed over the wall - Popeli su se preko zida.

(35) They came to a bridge over the stream - Došli su do mosta preko potoka.

(36) We walked over the field towards the house - Išli smo preko polja ka kući.

(37) We went over the bridge - Prodjosmo preko mosta.

(38) She looked over her shoulder - Ona pogleda preko ramena.

(39) He lived over the river - Stanovao je preko reke.

(40) She told him that over the phone - Rekla mu je to preko telefona.

(41) They stayed over the weekend - Ostali su preko vikenda.

3.3. Under contrasts with only some of the meanings of over, and has in its turn some independent uses. While this complicates the detailed study of the English system itself, translation poses no special problems. The principal equivalents, inevitably, are pod and ispod, and here again, corresponding to the case of over as against that of above, the former is the characteristic one, as shown in particular by the non-local range of meanings. Other substitutes are rare and are mostly restricted to this metaphorical range.

UNDER

(42) Two women walked under the trees - Dve žene hodale us ispod drveća.

(43) He had a cut under his right eye - Imao je rez ispod desnog oka.

(44) He wore a coat under his gown - Nosio je kaput ispod odore.

(45) It was difficult to keep under the surface - Bilo je teško ostati ispod površine.

(46) He carried books under his arm - Nosio je knjige pod miškom.

(47) She bowed under loads of shopping - Savijala se pod teretom kupljenih stvari.

(48) There was excitement hidden under the calm words - Ispod (iza) tih mirnih reči krilo se uzbudjenje.

(49) It all comes under this heading - Sve to ide pod ovo zaglavlje.

(50) He was charged under the new act - Optužen je po novom zakonu.

(51) The country was under foreign rule - Zemlja je bila pod stranom upravom.

(52) Life was different under Queen Victoria - Život je bio drugačiji za vlade (u vreme) kraljice Viktorije.

(53) His objectivity failed under pressure - Objektivnost mu popusti pod pritiskom.

(54) He was under her influence - Bio je pod njenim uticajem.

(55) It was the right decision under the circumstances - Bila je to ispravna odluka pod tim okolnostima.

(56) There were no drinks under two shillings - Nije bilo pića ispod dva šilinga.

3.4. Underneath, an infrequent substitute for under in a restricted class of mainly local meanings, appears to correspond to ispod in preference over pod, especially if motion is involved:

(57) He got out from underneath the lorry - On se izvuče ispod kamiona.

(58) The kitchen was underneath the balcony - Kuhinja je bila ispod balkona (pod balkonom).

(59) It was hard to tell what was underneath it all - Teško je bilo reći šta se krilo ispod svega toga.

3.5. Beneath, essentially another substitute, though somewhat less restricted, also appears to prefer ispod, but not to the exclusion of pod:

(60) The kids were playing beneath the street-lamps - Deca su se igrala ispod uličnih lampi.

(61) The ground opened beneath his feet - Zemlja mu se otvori pod nogama.

(62) She lay beneath the rug - Ležala je pod ćebetom.

(63) He hooked his hand beneath her arm - On je uhvati ispod ruke.

(64) The table was beneath the window - Sto je bio ispod prozora.

(65) He felt a doubt beneath his skin - Ispod kože on oseti sumnju.

(66) The forest was far beneath them - Šuma je bila daleko ispod njih.

(67) That was beneath him - To mu je bilo ispod časti.

3.6. As stated in section 1.2, underneath and beneath are in a sense secondary members of the system under consideration, being little more than occasional substitutes for under and, in the case of beneath (though more rarely) for below. The latter substitution is mainly possible when under itself is equivalent to below. Most of all this occurs within the range of local meanings. These facts are reflected in the selection of translational equivalents, as just illustrated in sections 3.4-5.

4.1. It has already been noted that a description of the Serbo-Croatian system involved is lacking. It may be of interest, however, to sketch out this system as it emerges in contrast with the English one. In the area covered in English by the two oppositions above/below and over/under, we find in Serbo-Croatian three oppositions: iznad/ /ispod, nad/pod, and više/niže. The last may, however, be discounted in identifying the systemic foundations of the present-day standard. Roughly speaking, the oppositions above/below and iznad/ispod are shown to be a good match, at least in terms of categories of meaning. In the same terms, over/under and nad/pod correspond about as well if only the first main area of the meaning of over is taken into account - that in which it is close to above. The other two major areas of over, where it is close to on and across respectively, constitute the principal asymmetry in contrasting the English and Serbo-Croatian systems. Serbo-Croatian does in fact have to resort here to prepositions corresponding to on and across, i.e. po (or na) and preko. In other words, nad is far more restricted than over: it is more like iznad than over is like above. Pod, on the other hand, is equivalent in range to under.

4.2. Probably the only point in the preceding sketch that needs some documentation beyond that provided by the illustrative sentences themselves is the general matching of iznad/ispod with above/below and of nad/pod with over/under. Why not the reverse? Evidently, the decision on this not immediately obvious point hangs on what one takes to be the defining features of the two Serbo-Croatian oppositions. Quite apart from any contrastive analysis, this question has apparently never been systematically investigated, although the relationship between iznad and nad and between ispod and pod has in the past aroused a certain amount of scholarly interest. This is not the place to review

the relevant literature, which has mostly been concerned with historical development and relationship to cases governed. It needs to be said, however, that these works contain no clear statement of what it is that essentially distinguishes the meaning of iznad from that of nad, or of ispod from that of pod, they scarcely even suggest synchronically promising directions of research.[3] Since the comparative semantics of these pairs in presentday usage remains to be worked out independently, any attempt at a definitive statement of the relevant facts for Serbo-Croatian would be premature at this stage. Yet it is tempting to offer a general solution to this traditional problem.

4.3. Iznad and nad, and ispod and pod, are far from being free variants. They may alternate in a limited class of local meanings, but in most other cases, including practically all the extended ones, there is simply no option, in that only one or the other can occur. Much depends on whether motion or position is expressed, insofar as certain kinds of motion can exclude one set of forms. But even within the range of position, and quite apart from any significance of the different cases governed, it seems both possible and necessary to talk about the inherent semantic potential of these prepositions. And here a crucial distinction is involved. What is it? On the basis of research underlying the description of the English system, and of the translations given for the English examples used in this paper, the answer appears to be rather evident. Iznad and ispod refer to points on a real or imaginary scale and thus connote detachment; nad and pod basically refer to actual or potential covering and thus connote interrelation. While this difference may remain obscured as long as attention is directed to individual instances of location, where there is some complicating overlap (as has traditionally been done), it emerges clearly when the full range of meanings is considered, including transferred ones in particular.

4.4. A few examples should suffice. Mesec iznad polja 'the moon above the field' means pretty much the same as mesec nad poljem 'the moon over the field'. But krov iznad glave 'the roof above one's head' would merely state the relative position, whereas krov nad glavom 'the roof over one's head' suggests protection. Bdeti nad nekim 'watch over someone' properly expresses concern, where *bdeti iznad nekoga would hardly make sense, any more than *'watch above someone'. It is not accidental that people say iznad svega in Serbo-Croatian and above all in English, rather than *nad svim or *over all. Correspondingly, mesto ispod prozora 'the place below the window' is more or less equivalent to mesto pod prozorom 'the place under the window', but such equivalence soon vanishes. Marširati ispod zastave 'march below the banner' locates the action, but marširati pod zastavom 'march under the banner' expresses allegiance to the banner. The preposition in the colloquial phrase ispod svake kritike is again correctly chosen, since pod svakom kritikom, if at all possible, could only mean something entirely different, i.e. 'exposed to all sorts of criticism.' This is parallel to beneath criticism as against under criticism. In phrases like pod uticajem 'under the influence', pod utiskom 'under the impression', pod uslovom 'under the condition' and the like, ispod and below are excluded for the same reason: because they do not suggest interrelation.

4.5. The neat parallelism of the prepositions in the examples and glosses just given in itself constitutes evidence for the correctness of the matching of iznad/ispod with above/below and of nad/pod with over/under. This is not to say that such parallelism will necessarily extend over any particular set of examples that one might come up with. The precise extent of the matching cannot be determined before much further work is done. But it seems clear enough even now that there is inherent and systematic affinity between the oppositions as matched in the two

languages, and that this affinity stems from the crucial connotational distinction between detachment and interrelation under its various aspects.

5.1. The following conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing analysis. Above (and over where the two overlap) has for its equivalents principally iznad and nad, rarely više. Below (and under where the two overlap) is equivalent mainly to ispod and pod, rarely to niže. Outside this shared area, under (along with underneath and beneath) again has as its principal equivalents pod and ispod. Over, on the other hand, has a considerably wider span and presents more potential problems in that it also frequently, and even more typically, translates as po, na, and especially preko. This last Serbo-Croatian preposition is itself seen to cover a wide semantic range, comparable to that of over in English, and would thus merit detailed study in its own right. Broadly speaking, a significant correlation is found between the oppositions above/below and iznad/ispod on the one hand, and over/under and nad/pod on the other. In a number of instances, but unsystematically, the English prepositions discussed may have other Serbo-Croatian equivalents. Idiomatic collocations, which were not given special treatment in this paper, also show good correspondence in many cases; some were illustrated in section 4.4. Elsewhere there is a lack of correspondence, in that other prepostions are used in Serbo-Croatian, e.g., sit over the fire - sedeti kraj vatre, disagree over something - ne slagati se u nečemu, under repair - u opravci, under one's nose - ispred nosa. In certain phrases, the Serbo-Croatian counterpart may contain no preposition at all; e.g., what's come over you - šta te je snašlo.

5.2. A general conclusion is that much more work needs to be done on prepositions, both in English and in Serbo-Croatian. Prepositions

are not easy to study either independently or contrastively, even when they come in what appear to be nicely symmetrical sets. Insights derived from the study of prepositions in one language can be useful in attacking their potential equivalents in another language, as demonstrated by our tentative findings with respect to iznad/ispod and nad/ /pod. While idiomatic collocations can in principle be listed regardless of their correspondence in the two languages, fundamental correlations must be sought in outlining the systematic semantic relations among the prepositions.[4] It is especially important to encompass the various non-local meanings as well, since the true semantic character of a preposition is often most strikingly revealed in metaphorical transfer. In the area examined in this paper, a fair degree of correspondence can be established both individually and structurally, with the important exceptions noted. It may be predicted with confidence that a thorough contrastive investigation of other prepositions in the two languages, particularly those that have less lexical content and are less systematically related, would present the analyst with a rich crop of fresh problems.

N O T E S

1. This dual aim of contrasting systems and seeking out translation equivalents no doubt makes the paper a mixed methodological blessing. Preference for one or the other may be a matter of personal taste, and this author's inclination will presumably be evident from the character of the mixture. Yet there can be little doubt that this remains a fundamental dilemma of contrastive analysis as a field of activity. For much cogent discussion with reference to the present project, see Ivir (1969, 1970), Spalatin (1969), and

Liston (1970). Related issues are briefly touched upon in Bugarski (1969c).

2. The expression over and above is best treated as a special case. Its closest equivalent is presumably povrh, e.g., I received a pound over and above what I had paid - Primio sam jednu funtu povrh onoga što sam platio. Povrh might occasionally also be equivalent to over or above individually, but only as a stylistically marked alternative for the normal equivalents.

3. See, however, such studies as Belić (1949-50) and J. Vuković (1954). More recently, the insightful work of Milka Ivić on the structural analysis of the Serbo-Croatian case system with the associated prepositions has cleared the ground for a better understanding of the relationship between syntactic and semantic phenomena in this general area; cf. e.g. the surveys in Ivić (1958, 1965). It should be easier now for grammarians of Serbo-Croatian to tackle more systematically specific problems relating to the meaning of the prepositions. A good beginning was made in G. Vuković (1966), but has apparently not been followed up.

4. No information on frequency is provided in the present exploratory inquiry, but any reader could make reasonably accurate guesses as to which categories of meaning illustrated by the individual examples throughout the paper are basic and of frequent occurrence, and which tend to be marginal and somewhat special by comparison, thus approaching the status of idiomatically restricted usage. The interested reader may, however, wish to consult Bugarski (1969a) for frequency data on the English categories and for further discussion of grammatical, lexical and semantic issues involved in the classification.

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DEMONSTRATIVES IN SERBO-CROAT TO ENGLISH TRANSLATIONAL CONVERSION

1.1. This report sets out to investigate contrastively significant structural patterns in the translational conversion of Serbo-Croat demonstratives to a variety of English items.

1.2. In this effort, earlier definitions of the phenomenon of translational conversion[1] will be used as a starting point. Also, the principal categories (of Full Conversion, Quasi Conversion, and Nil Equivalent), as already postulated[2], will provide the basic framework of classification, with structural and perhaps semantic subcategories established as required by the patterning of translational conversion occurrences.

2.1. The material analyzed has been the full text of Travnička hronika by Ivo Andrić, a novel in contemporary Serbo-Croat[3], and its English translation (as Bosnian Story) by Kenneth Johnstone[4].

2.2. The occurrences of Serbo-Croat demonstratives, undergoing (in the process of translation) Full or Quasi Conversion, or turning up with a Nil Equivalent in English, have been collected - under this author's supervision - by Biserka Krušlin as part of her work on her B.A. English thesis[5].

2.2.1. A total of 354 occurrences of demonstratives have been analyzed by the present author, as an introductory

investigation to the complex of pronominal conversion in translation (with 988 occurrences collected, or 15.3% of a grand total of 3,161 Serbo-Croat pronouns contained in the novel mentioned).

2.3. The results of this analysis now follow, presented under the three principal categories listed (cf. 1.2.), each introduced by a tabular survey of pattern distribution.

3.0. FULL CONVERSION

3.1. Serbo-Croat demonstrative pronouns converting to other parts of speech in the English text analyzed show the following distribution (see Table 1.).

3.1.1. Preliminary statements made possible by this table:

a) Full conversion of a Serbo-Croat demonstrative pronoun to some other part of speech, when translated into English, is most frequently observable in to (16+11 occurrences, or 42.9% of the total). Even combined the runners-up ovaj (6+2; 12.7%) and onaj (3+4; 11.1%) amount to little over one-half of the to total.

b) The two top full-conversion contrastive patterns are

SC DEM → the + N (28; 44.4%) - reaching 43, or 68.2% with all other nominalization patterns - and

SC DEM → Eng ADV (14; 22.2%)

c) The combined share of "idiom-integrated" and "loose translation" occurrences is a rather insignificant 6 (9.5%).

Table 1. (SC) DEM → (Eng) Other Parts of Speech

	OV-demonstratives					T-demonstratives					ON-demonstratives					
SERBO-CROAT : ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PATTERNS	ovaj (+oblique)	ova	ovo	ovi, ove, ova	ovakav, etc.	taj	ta	to	ti, te, ta	takav, etc.	onaj	ona	ono	oni, one, ona	onakav, etc.	TOTAL
1.DEM → the + N	4+1	1		1		1+1		5+6				1	1+3	1	2	28
DEM → Poss/a+N								2								2
DEM+REL → the+man+REL											3+3				1	7
DEM+kako → the +N								2								2
DEM(+što) → the+N(+REL)													2			2
DEM(+N) → the kind of (+N)												1		1		2
2.DEM → ADV	2		3					6+3								14
3.DEM = idiom-integrated					1											1
4.DEM =loose translation[6]	1							3					1			5
TOTAL	6+2	1	3	1	1	1+1		16+11			3+4	2+3	3+1	1+3		63

Discussion of Individual Patterns

3.2. SC DEM ⟶ Eng noun (43; 68.2%)

3.2.1. SC DEM ⟶ the + N (28; 44.4%)

a) to (5+6)

(1) Najposle i to se sredilo. (p. 96)

(1E) But at last the matter was arranged. (p. 100)

(2) Neko iz svetine reče nešto poluglasno ... a Darna to iskoristi. (164)

(2E) Somebody in the crowd mumbled something ... and Darna took advantage of the fact. (166)

b) ovaj (4+1)

(3) Vidi sebe kako sedi nasapunjen pred oficirskim berberinom, kako mu ovaj otseca gustu kosu. (147)

(3E) He saw himself ... all lathered in the hands of the officers' barber and the barber shearing off his thick hair. (151)

c) ona (1+3)

(4) Ne, nije on tvrdica, nego rdja, i to ona velika što gvožđje izjeda. (183)

(4E) No, he's no miser, he's a canker and the kind of super canker that would eat iron. (186)

d) taj (1+1)

(5) ... iako je dobro znao da taj ni svoje poslove ne ume i ne stiže da posvršava. (48)

(5E) ... although he well knew that the governor was not competent even at his own work and never got through it. (55)

The cause of this important contrastive pattern is the lack in English of gender agreement between the demonstrative and its noun referent. Thus, where Serbo-Croat is adequately served by the pronoun English is compelled to be more specific — to nominalize. Teaching implications are slight, in spite of the relatively high incidence of the pattern. Advanced learners could be warned that English, oftener than Serbo-Croat, prefers repeating the noun to using a pronoun, especially when the pronoun is at some distance from the noun to which it refers.

Note. A single case where the Serbo-Croat demonstrative is translated with a + N may be noted here:

(6) I to je često trajalo satima. (177)

(6E) ... a process which often lasted hours. (179)

as well as this one, where we find SC DEM → Eng POSS + N:

(7) Tek kad je to izgovorio, fratar je otvorio i ono drugo oko ... (77)

(7E) Having finished his speech, the Brother opened his other eye ... (82)

3.2.2. SC DEM + REL → the + man[7] + REL (7)

(8) Najčešće grde onoga koji odlazi i hvale onoga koji treba da dodje. (151)

(8E) Usually they curse the man who is leaving and praise the man who is to come. (154)

Teaching implications. Together with the pattern SC DEM + koji → the one + who (cf. 4.6.1.), this provides a useful pointer for advanced learners who will have no trouble identifying the pattern DEM + REL.

Note. The corpus contained one example of SC DEM + REL → a man + who:

(9) ... jer onaj kome treba oružje ne pita pošto je... (131)

(9E) ... since a man who needs a gun does not ask the price... (134)

3.2.3. SC DEM + kako → the + N[7] (12)

(10) Ne može se vrednost ni važnost jedne zemlje meriti po tome kako se u njoj oseća konzul neke strane države. (127)

(10E) The worth and value of a country were not to be assessed by the way the Consul of a foreign power happened to feel there. (131)

This is basically a case of nominalization, and much of what is said under 5.4. applies here (together with the teaching implications).

3.2.4. SC DEM + što → the + N + REL (2)

(11) Ono što je odavalo pravi život i istinsku snagu toga čoveka, to su bile oči. (177)

(11E) The feature which betrayed this man's real life and true strength was the eyes. (180)

This type of nominalization, not brought about by the lack of gender agreement in English (cf. 3.2.1.), is not obligatory. Strictly speaking, we have here loose translation.

3.2.5. SC DEM)+N) — the kind of (+N) (2)

(12) To nisu bile one muke sa poslugom na koje se žale oduvek sve domaćice ovoga sveta ... (56)

(12E) It was not the kind of servant trouble of which all the housewives of this world have always had to complain ... (62)

Teaching implications. A suggestion to be usefully made in teaching advanced classes.

3.3. SC DEM —→ Eng ADV (14; 22.2%)

In spite of the relatively high frequency of this conversion, most of the occurrences are single cases of lexical translation:

(13) Time je svaki od njih zadovoljio u sebi dve potrebe ... (89)

(13E) Thereby each of them had satisfied two inner necessities... (104)

(14) On je to često i sam ... govorio... (68)

(14E) He often said as much ... (73)

Teaching implications. It might be of some value in very advanced classes to point out examples like:

(15) ... bilo da se ovaj svet izmenio nagore, bilo da... (136)

(15E)... granted that people here have since changed for the worse, granted that ... (140)

4.0. QUASI CONVERSION

4.1. Serbo-Croat demonstrative pronouns, quasi-converting to other pronouns in the English text analyzed, show the following distribution (see Table 2.).

4.1.1. Consulting Table 2, we can make the following general statements:

a) To (46+5 occurrences; or 31.5%) is by far the most frequent Serbo-Croat demonstrative translated in English by pronouns other than demonstrative. The next three in prominence are: taj (14+10; 14.9%), ta (fem. sg; 4+13; 10.5%) and ovaj (9+7; 9.9%).

Table 2. (SC) DEM → (Eng) Non-Demonstrative Pronouns

	OV-demonstratives				T-demonstratives					ON-demonstratives					
SERBO-CROAT : ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PATTERNS	ovaj (+oblique) ova	ovo	ovi, ove, ova	ovakav, etc.	taj	ta	to	ti, te, ta	takav, etc.	onaj	ona	ono	oni, one, ona	onakav, etc.	TOTAL
1. DEM → it							11+1								12
2. DEM → he, she	2				5+1		14								22
3. derog DEM → he, she							2								2
4. sg DEM → they							6+1								7
5. DEM → the	7+5	4	2		7+8	3+12	6+1	4+3	1	5+7	5	3+4	4		91
6. DEM+što → it ... that												1			1
7. sve+DEM → it all							2								2
8. a +DEM → which							1								1
9. DEM → the one					1										1
10. DEM → the other		1													1
11. DEM → the latter	1														1
12. DEM = idiom-integrated				1											1
13. DEM → POSS(loose tran.)	2 1		1			1+1	2+2	1+1			1	1			14
14. loose translation proper					1+1		2			1		1			6
TOTAL	10+7	1+4	1+2	1	14+10	4+13	46+6	5+4	1	5+8	6	6+4	4		162

b) Pattern 5 (DEM → the), with 91 or 56.5% of all occurrences, is the top quasi-conversion pattern.

c) The three next quasi-conversion patterns, 2, 1 and 4 (in descending order of frequency) very probably contain contrastive-analysis potential.

d) Loose translation accounts for 20 occurrences (12.3%).

Discussion of Individual Patterns

4.2. SC DEM → the (91; 56.5%)

(16) Ponavljao je tu reč poluglasno sam sebi. (141)

(16E) He repeated the word to himself, half aloud (145)

(17) Vidim, vidim — kaže Davil ... i samo se čudi što sve vidi ovaj mladi čovek. (129)

(17E) "I see" said Daville ... wondering only what the young man saw in it all. (133)

The high incidence of this pattern is not surprising in view of the demonstrative quality of the English specifying the. Unfortunately, no data have been compiled from the corpus about the parallel incidence of the pattern SC DEM → Eng DEM.[8]

Teaching implications. As this pattern is probably a largely stylistic device, its value in teaching English is that of a possible suggestion to very advanced learners to use it as a stylistic variant.

4.2.1. Further research into the cause of the quasi conversion SC DEM → the might suggest explanations based on the context, such as:

If two Serbo-Croat demonstratives are used in quick succession—the first being to, the second the nominative of any T- demonstrative—the latter is (for reasons of euphony?; to avoid excessive "demonstrativeness"?; cf. 4. 2. 2.) preferably rendered in English as the. For instance:

SC to... T - DEM → Eng DEM ... the (3)

(18) "I to su dakle te teškoće ... o kojima se čita u memoarima starih konzula na Istoku." (85)

(18E) "And so these are the difficulties ... one reads about in the memoirs of old Consuls in the East." (94)

or:

(19) To su ti "srčali pendžeri" ... kakvih zaista nije bilo u celoj Bosni. (28)

(19E) These were the "casements of glass" ... the like of which was not to be found in all Bosnia. (36)

4. 2. 2. In a few cases (6 to be exact) the quasi conversion SC DEM → the was brought about by the use of English set phrases for temporal relations, such as (u to vreme:) at the time, (sve to vreme:) all the while/time and (odmah početkom te godine:) at the very beginning of the year.

One of them, however, suggests an interpretation of possibly more general application to the cases of SC DEM → the. When a Serbo-Croat noun already preceded by a demonstrative is immediately followed by a modifying clause, the English translation would seem to prefer the in the place of the Serbo-Croat

demonstrative (perhaps shunning an excessive accumulation of definiteness, of specification; cf. 4.2.1.). The example in question:

(20) Od onog dana kad je ... napustio Split... (138)

(20E) From the day when ... he had left Split ... (142)

4.2.3. Note. Two occurrences of translation equivalence SC DEM → a(n) were classified as loose translation.

4.3. SC DEM → he, she (22; 13.6%)

4.3.1. to → he (13)

(21) To je bio kratak i pun čovek, bez brade i brkova. (179)

(21E) He was a short, stout man, without beard or moustaches. (181)

to → she (2)

(22) Već na prvi pogled videlo se da je to žena kojoj treba mnogo mesta u svetu. (108)

(22E) It was obvious at first glance that she was a woman who needed a good deal of attention from the world. (112)

The fact that he/she are almost obligatory in the type of sentences illustrated above makes this a contrastive pattern worthy of note. Though he and she are replaceable by that (resulting, in 22E, in [ðət ðæt]) and possibly it, the use of he or she is more natural to English, which seems here to require more specification than Serbo-Croat does. Acquiring this pattern is also recommended by the fact that we thereby avoid the necessity of phonetic distinction in the juxtaposition:" ... at first glance that that was a woman ..."

Teaching implications. This pattern should be introduced at the lower advanced level, because of the fairly high incidence of cases where the Serbo-Croat to serves to introduce a person and this brings about interference with English which is more explicit here in terms of gender. Exercise types recommended: translation of Serbo-Croat sentences into English.

4.3.1.1. We should perhaps note here two occurrences of to in a specific, derogatory use. Though that is possible as the English equivalent, particularly in (24), one is probably safer in using he (or she, as the case may be).

(23) Preko pedeset godina to gamiže ovim božjim svetom. (183)

(23E) For more than fifty years he's been creeping about God's world. (185)

(24) Krmak ne će o njega da se otare, ali je trebalo to poznavati nekad. (183)

(24E) A pig wouldn't touch him, but you should have known him once. (185)

Teaching implications. None. Perhaps lexicographically useful:

to pron that, it; (derog) that, he, she

4.3.2. taj → he (5)

(25) Taj ne zna što govori. (156)

(25E) He does not know what he is talking about. (159)

Thinking about taj → he, one wonders whether taj → that one is perhaps too emphatic for English (though the use of taj itself, as exemplified here, is equally affective in Serbo-Croat). Indeed, all the five examples

of this pattern could have perhaps been classified as loose translation.

4.4. SC DEM → it (12; 7.4%)

(In all the 12 examples the DEM was to)

(26) To je bio znak da se stvari stišavaju. (167)

(26E) It was a sign that things were quietening down. (170)

(27) ... dok se to ne pretvori u jedno otegnuto zujanje kroz nos. (184)

(27E) ... until it developed into a sustained humming through his nose. (187)

To → it, as opposed to to → that, is a complex problem in the contrastive analysis of demonstratives in English and Serbo-Croat. Concentrating solely on problems of conversion (proper and less so), this report gives no data on the incidence of to ≠ that in the text analyzed, which would have provided a clue to preferences, complementary occurrence and the like in the Serbo-Croat: English equivalence to=it/that. A clue, if you want, to the comparatively weak "demonstrativeness" of to, too often used for referring to clause-level antecedents (that, or rather this, in English), and to introduce clauses and statements (the function filled in English by it).

Teaching implications. Something should be done at the lowest beginning level about clearly separating to from the demonstrative equivalents for the "closer object" (ovaj:this) on the one hand and those for the "further object" (onaj:that) on the other. After that,

the distinction between to = it and to = that should be hammered home by first building up the equivalence to = it, and then diluting, as it were, the awareness of this equivalence (by introducing restrictions of usage) down to to = that.

4.5. SC DEM → they (7; 4.3%)

4.5.1. For persons (4)

(28) To su obično grlati, nasilni, nezadovoljeni, potuljeni i nastrani ljudi. (159)

(28E) They are generally loud, violent, discontented underdogs and misfits. (161)

This contrastive pattern, calling for a switch from the singular Serbo-Croat pronoun to a plural English pronoun, is caused by the lack of number agreement between the Serbo-Croat demonstrative and its noun. (The same problem is encountered by the Serbo-Croat learner of Italian in to su : questi/queste sono.)

Teaching implications. This contrastive pattern should be introduced at higher beginning level, after the "introductory it" used for demonstration instead of that has been acquired. It should be relatively easy after that to develop the steps (to : it →) to su: *it are : they are.

4.5.2. Referring to a plural non-human antecedent. (3)

(29) Dućandžija bi ili odgovarao mirno da je to prodano ili bi planuo. (168)

(29E) The shopkeeper either answered placidly that they were already sold or else flared up. (171)

This is another case (cf. 4. 2. 1.) of English being more specific than Serbo-Croat.

4. 6. Minor Patterns

4. 6. 1. SC DEM (+ koji) → the one (+ who) (1; 0. 6%)

(30) ... koji ga gledaju sa strahom i ljubopitstvom, kao da je on taj koji neumitno rasporedjuje vremena i godišnja doba. (126)

(30E) ... who gazed at him with appalled curiosity, as if he were the one who had so clumsily (sic!) arranged the weather and the seasons of the year. (128)

Teaching implications. See 3. 2. 2.

Note. Two more occurrences of translation equivalence taj : onaj in the text were cases of loose translation.

4. 6. 2. (Subj +) SC DEM + što → it (+ Subj +) that (1; 0. 6%)

(31) I kao često u životu, i u ovom slučaju je uspeh bio ono što čoveku lomi vrat. (105)

(31E) ... and as often happens in life, in his case it was success that broke his neck. (108)

If ono is analyzed by itself, its one-for-one equivalent is it. However, ono is obviously part of the pattern ono što, which brings that in. The low incidence of the pattern 4. 6. 2. in the text analyzed correctly indicates the significantly lower frequency of (Subj +) DEM + što in Serbo-Croatian than that of it + (Subj+) that in English. The latter pattern, however, is a fairly important device in English for moderate emphasis, and this makes it desirable to acquire in

learning that language.

Teaching implications. This pattern is to be introduced at an advanced level. Exercises recommended: Obviously, translation of sentences from Serbo-Croat to English. Still more efficient: "Translate, emphasizing the word underlined."

For instance: Gorivo nam je potrebno. ⟶ Fuel is what we need (cf. 5. 2.). Next (restricting) step: adding "use it" to the exercise instructions will give It is fuel that we need. A further optional step could point out the possibility of omitting that in colloquial English: It is fuel we need.

4. 6. 3. SC a + DEM ⟶ which[9] (1; 0. 6%)

(32) I kad bi joj ta muka postala neizdrživa, a to je bivalo često ... (111)

(32E) ... and whenever this agony became more than she could bear, which was often ... (115)

Which refers here to a preceding sentence.

Teaching implications. A useful point to make with advanced learners ("a to = which" will suffice as a practical suggestion).

4. 6. 4. SC sve + DEM ⟶ it all (2; 1. 2%)

(33) Sada je medjutim gledao na sve to blaže i mirnije. (157)

(33E) Now, with the passing of time, he looked back on it all in a calmer, gentler light. (160)

This is a lexical pattern (though involving change of word order).

Teaching implications. Very slight; and for advanced learners only. It is reducible to the level of a comment about sve to predictably resulting in all that, with the unpredictable (for the learner) it all as possible variant. To be sure, this comment may perfectly well be made lexicographically as part of the entry sve:

sve p r o n everything; all ...
|~ to all that; (k a o
o b j e k t i) it all

4.6.5. SC DEM → the latter (1; 0.6%)

(34) Danas, posle svega što je preživeo uz Ibrahim-pašu dok je ovaj bio veliki Vezir u najtežem vremenu... (176)

(34E) Now, after all he had been through with Ibrahim Pasha while the latter was Grand Vizier in the most difficult of times ... (178)

Teaching implications. Though the equivalence the latter: ovaj (drugi), and the former : onaj (prvi), is normally acquired through English, shifting emphasis to the Serbo-Croatian item as the starting point may be useful. Recording this lexicographically is probably sufficient:

ovaj p r o n this; the; this one, this man (fellow) | ~ ... (onaj)
the latter ... (the former)

4.7. Loose Translation (SC DEM → Eng POSS) (14; 8.6%)

Unlike the Loose Translation Proper — where as a rule no one-for-one equivalence between the SC item and its English translation can be established

— this category demonstrates an unambiguous equivalence. For instance:

(35) Ali sada, sudeći po ovom prvom utisku, Davil je crno gledao na svoju buduću saradnju sa novim vezirom. (172)

(35E) But now, judging from his first impression, Daville took a sombre view of his future collaboration with this new Vizier. (175)

No regularity or any patterning to explain this, and the 13 other occurrences, has been discovered by the present author. Thus, Loose Translation was the only label possible. (The frequent arbitrary approach to demonstratives in the English text analyzed is well illustrated by the closing words of the example quoted above, where a this occurs without any Serbo-Croat demonstrative to warrant it.)

5.0. NIL EQUIVALENT

5.1. Serbo-Croat demonstrative pronouns, converting to Ø in the English text analyzed, show the following distribution:

Table 3. (SC) DEM → (Eng) Ø

SERBO-CROAT : ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PATTERNS	OV-demonstratives: (ov- (+ oblique))	ova	ovo	ovi, ove, ova	ovakav, etc.	T-demonstratives: (taj	ta	to	ti, te, ta	takav, etc.	ON-demonstratives: ona)	ona	ono	oni, one, ona	onakav, etc	TOTAL
1. DEM+što → {what, which / N}			1					2					17+8			28
2. Subj. Cl. (antcd). . +DEM						2		6								8
3. (PREP+) DEM+{Obj. Cl. / Ger}									11							11
4. DEM + POSS		1				1		1	1							4
5. i + DEM {Ø, and / but}								5								5
6. {sve / samo / COMP} + DEM + što → {Ø / REL}													2+1			3
7. sve + DEM → all/everything								3								3
8. DEM + {isti / jedini / SUP}			2			2		2		2	1+1	3				13
9. "explicit-object" to → Ø								1								1
10. "empty" to → Ø								1								1
11. a + DEM													1			1
12. DEM = idiom-integrated					1				4							5
13. Loose Translation		1+2	1	1	1+1	1	5	2	22+1	1+3		1		1	2	46
TOTAL		1+3	3	2	1+2	1	10	5	41+16	3+3	1+1	4	20+10		2	129

5.1.1. The most obvious statements made possible by Table 3 are:

a) To (41+16; 44.2%) and ono (20+10; 23.3%) convert most readily to Ø (accounting between themselves for 67.5%, or two-thirds of all occurrences).

b) Pattern 1 (28; 21.7%, or almost one-quarter of all the cases) is easily the most prominent.

c) Patterns 8, 3 and 2 — followed by 5, 4, 6 and 7 — come next as potentially useful material for contrastive statements.

d) The remaining patterns are of limited usefulness in contrastive description, due to their lexical (11, 12) or predominantly stylistic character.

e) The share of category Loose Translation (46; 28.6%) is nearly one-third of the total — highest among the three conversion types discussed in this report.

Discussion of Individual Patterns

5.2. SC DEM + što → Ø + what/which (or N)[10] (28; 21.7%)

(36) Izlazila je na jahanje izvan varoši i trudila se da sa svog visokog vranca ne gleda ono što je neposredno oko nje. (110)

(36E) She went riding outside the town and tried from her tall mount not to look at Ø what was immediately around her. (114)

(37) Tek kad je ostao sam, Davilu izidje pred oči sva strahota onoga što je maločas čuo. (50)

(37E) As soon as he was left alone, there passed before Daville's eyes all the horror of Ø what he had just heard. (57)

(38) Davil je dobro znao da to što mu vezir govori nije i ne može biti sve i u celosti tačno. (154)

(38E) Daville knew well that Ø what the Vizier was saying to him was not, and could not be, entirely and completely accurate. (157)

Though we do not know how many such Serbo-Croat patterns — if any — have been translated by that which, the equivalence ono/to što : Ø what is obviously one to note as a useful contrastive pattern. It is a particularly helpful device for avoiding the clumsy English equivalent in da to što : that that which.

Teaching implications. Very useful, indeed obligatory, to acquire at an advanced level. Type of exercises recommended: Serbo-Croat to English translation exercises of entire sentences.

5. 2. 1. SC DEM + što + Vb → (Ø +) N (3)

(39) A Salko, videći da se dešava ono što on nasluti, zaboravio posve ko je i gde je. (189)

(39E) And Salko, seeing his premonition coming true, entirely forgot who and where he was. (191)

Although these three instances of full nominalization (stronger than anything within 3. 2.) are in fact rather loose translation, the readily observable equivalent pairing (ono što + Vb : Eng N) sets them apart as a subpattern of 5. 2.

Teaching implications. Optional at advanced levels, or systematically introduced at very advanced levels.

Exercise recommended: "Abbreviate the sentence by nominalizing the verb."

5.3. SC DEM + isti/jedini/SUP → Ø + the + same /only/SUP (13; 10.1%)

DEM + isti (10)

(40) U toku godina on će stotinama puta preći taj isti put, pod sličnim okolnostima. (26)

(40E) Hundreds of times in the next few years he was to pass along Ø the same road in the same conditions. (33)

DEM + jedini (1), takozvani (1)

(41) ... oduzevši mu mir i spokojstvo, ta jedina dobra i najveće dostojanstvo skromnih sudbina i bezimenih ljudi. (105)

(41E) ... taking from him that tranquility and peace which are Ø the only treasure and the greatest distinction of humble lives and undistinguished men. (109)

DEM + Superlative (2)

(42) Više niko ne reče ništa i na tome ostade razgovor o toj najnovijoj vijesti. (8)

(42E) No one said anything further and at this point the conversation regarding Ø the latest piece of news stopped short. (16)

In all these cases, the translator very probably indulged in loose translation. He may have felt that a Serbo-Croat demonstrative was adequately rendered by the obligatory the attached to the lexical (same, only, so-called) or grammatical

(Superlative) item, serving as the translation equivalent to the Serbo-Croat demonstrative in question. In this, the translator would be significantly influenced by the frequent mechanism of SC DEM → the (cf. 4.2.). Whatever the process, the formal result is a lack of English one-for-one equivalent for the Serbo-Croat demonstrative, and this is why these examples are classified here, rather than under Quasi Conversion. Their clear patterning, on the other hand, is the reason why they have been presented separately and not merged with the catch-all category of Loose Translation.

Teaching implications. The rule DEM + *the + N (i.e. the is superfluous after a demonstrative has been used in the determiner slot), somewhat fleetingly mentioned in medium-level English courses, could gain useful emphasis if approached, or downright acquired, from Serbo-Croat. Fill-in or translation exercises to introduce and reinforce this rule should not be difficult to devise.

5.4. (PREP +) DEM + Obj Cl → (PREP +) Ø + Obj Cl/Ger (11; 8.5%)

(43) I pišući ... Ministarstvu o tome kako je u Travniku prošao prvi carev rodjendan... (39)

(43E) ... and in writing ... to the Ministry of Ø how the first celebration of the Emperor's birthday had passed off at Travnik ... (46)

This pattern (cf. also 3. 2. 3.) will, no doubt, be covered by some Project analyst reporting on Object Clauses (though in the other direction: E → SC). However, the frequency of this pattern in Serbo- - Croat and its importance as a clause connector amply justify its inclusion here. Particularly so, as it often requires nominalization — a habit ordinarily deficient in the Serbo-Croat learner of English.

Teaching implications. This habit is best introduced by the use of the gerund, whose distribution in English is probably as high as that of the Serbo-Croat pattern under discussion.

5. 4. 1. (SC) ..... → (Eng) PREP + Ø + Ger[11] (3)

(44) Dok je bio mladji ... nalazio [je] zadovoljstvo u tome da svet zbunjuje krutom belinom svojih košulja... (119)

(44E) In his younger days he .. had found some satisfaction in Ø astonishing the world with the stiffness and whiteness of his shirts ... (123)

Teaching implications. In view of the commensurately high frequencies of both English and Serbo-Croat items in their respective languages, this pattern may profitably be introduced as early as a higher intermediate level of learning. Type of exercise recommended: "Replace the underlined Serbo-Croat verbal construction with the English gerund" (in given sentences).

5. 5. SC Subj Cl (antcd) ... DEM + PRED (8; 6. 2%)
→ Eng Subj Cl (antcd) ... Ø + PRED

(45) Jedino u čemu se svi slažu, to je proganjanje svih onih koji su ma čime pokazali da odobravaju reforme... (151)

(45E) The only point on which all were agreed Ø was the exile of all those who had shown themselves in any way in favour of the reforms ... (155)

Teaching implications. This pattern has been adequately covered in this Project by the appropriate report.[12] However, the emphasis on the Serbo-Croat demonstrative to → Eng Ø has distinct psychological advantages in teaching this item to Serbo-Croat learners of English on advanced levels. Exercise type recommended: Serbo-Croat to English translation of complete sentences.

5.6. SC i + to → Eng (, Ø) or (, and) or (, but) (5 /3-1-1/; 3.9%)

(46) ... vezir se potajno već spremao na odlazak, i to sa stvarima i celom pratnjom. (150)

(46E) ... the Vizier was already making secret preparations for his departure, Ø with his belongings and his whole suite. (153)

(47) ... da bi to značilo kraj njegove karijere, i to ne mnogo častan kraj . (142)

(47E) ... that to do so would mean the end of his career, and not a very honourable end. (146)

The structural quality of this emphatic connector should not be minimized. Treating it lexically falls short of adequate analysis (in Drvodelić's Serbo-Croat-English dictionary[13] all that one finds for i to is and that).

Teaching implications. For advanced levels. Exercise type recommended: "Link up emphatically sentences A and B (by using the English equivalent of Serbo-Croat i to)". Or: "Translate the following sentences from Serbo-Croat to English" – the sentences preselected (containing i to).

5.7. SC DEM + POSS → Eng (Ø+) POSS (4; 3.1%)

(48) I kako bi taj njegov sabesednik namerno i dalje hvalio Travničane ... (182)

(48E) And if Ø his interlocutor ... continued his praises of Travnik ... (185)

What we have here is a clear-cut contrast in Serbo-Croat and English structures. Whereas in English a demonstrative cannot immediately precede a possessive, this is perfectly possible in Serbo-Croat (resulting in interference, leading to errors in Serbo-Croat learners of English).

Teaching implications. This is a significant restriction to be pointed out at intermediate level. It can be very useful in expanding and reinforcing the use of possessive pronouns (mine, yours, etc).

5.7.1. Though perhaps in loose translation these demonstratives may be omitted, and no harm done, we cannot completely ignore the need for a full transfer of emotional content in examples like:

(49) Dosta mi je tog tvog brata![14]

(49E) I've had enough of that brother of yours!

5.8. Minor Patterns

5.8.1. SC "explicit-object" to → Eng Ø (1; 0.8%)

(50) I dok je to govorio, pod šiljetom na kome sedi... (94)

(50E) And even as he spoke Ø, under the cushion on which he was sitting ... (99)

While English has no need of expressing the object here, in Serbo-Croat this is almost automatic.

Teaching implications. Optional at very advanced levels.

5.8.2. SC "empty" to → Eng ∅

(51) ... njihova zabrinutost veća nego što su to hteli Darni da pokažu. (93)

(51E) ... and their anxiety was greater than they were willing to let Darna see. (98)

Teaching implications.

The regular appearance of to after nego (što) in Serbo-Croat comparison of inequality, makes it a useful item to include in translation exercise (SC to E) on a very advanced level.

6.0. OVERALL SURVEYS

Table 4. Conversion Type Proportions

Type of Conversion	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Full	63	18.1%
Quasi	162	45.5
Nil Equiv.	129	36.4
Total:	354	100.0

Table 5. Distribution of Serbo-Croat Demonstratives in Conversion Types

Demonstrative	Full Conv.	Quasi Conv.	Nil Equiv.	TOTAL
ovaj	6 + 2	10 + 7	1 + 3	17 + 12 = 29
ova	1 -	1 + 4	- 3	2 + 7 = 9
ovo	3 -	1 + 2	2 -	6 + 2 = 8
ovi, e, a	1 -	1 -	1 + 2	3 + 2 = 5
ovakav, etc.	- 1	1 -	1 -	2 + 1 = 3
TOTAL OV-	11 + 3	14 + 13	5 + 8	30 + 24 = 54
taj	1 + 1	14 + 10	10 -	25 + 11 = 36
ta	- -	4 + 13	- 5	4 + 18 = 22
to	16 + 11	46 + 5	41 + 16	103 + 32 = 135
ti, te, ta	- -	5 + 4	3 + 3	8 + 7 = 15
takav, etc.	- -	1 -	- -	1 + - = 1
TOTAL T-	17 + 12	70 + 32	54 + 24	141 + 68 = 209
onaj	3 + 4	5 + 8	1 + 1	9 + 13 = 22
ona	2 + 3	- 6	4 -	6 + 9 = 15
ono	3 + 1	6 4	20 + 10	29 + 15 = 44
oni, e, a	1 + 3	- 4	2 -	3 + 7 = 10
onakav, etc.	- -	- -	- -	- - -
TOTAL ON-	9 + 11	11 + 22	27 + 11	47 + 44 = 91
GRAND TOTAL	37 + 26	95 + 67	86 + 43	218 + 136 = 354

Table 6. Proportions of Top-Frequency Serbo-Croat Demonstratives

Demonstrative	Full Conv.	% of Conv. Type	Quasi Conv.	% of Conv Type	Nil Equiv.	% of Conv. Type	TOTAL	% of Total Conv.
1. to	27	42.2	51	31.7	57	44.2	135	38.1
2. ono	4	6.3	10	6.2	30	23.3	44	12.4
3. taj	2	3.1	24	14.9	10	7.8	36	10.2
4. ovaj	8	14.1	17	9.9	4	3.1	29	8.2
5. ta	-	-	17	10.6	5	3.9	22	6.2
6. onaj	7	10.9	13	8.1	2	1.6	22	6.2
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
TOTAL	63	100.0	162	100.0	129	100.0	354	100.0

Table 7. Proportions of Top-Frequency Conversion Patterns

Contrastive Pattern	Type of Conv.	Absol. f in text analyzed	Rel. % (in %)
1. SC DEM → the	Quasi	91	25.7
2. SC DEM → the + N	Full	28	7.9
3. SC DEM + što → what/which/N	Nil	28	7.9
4. SC DEM → he/she	Quasi	22	6.2
5. SC DEM → Eng ADV	Full	14	4.0
6. SC DEM + isti/jedini/SUP	Nil	13	3.7
7. SC DEM → it	Quasi	12	3.4
8. SC (PREP+) DEM + ObjCl/Ger	Nil	11	3.1
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
TOTAL		354	100.0

N O T E S

1. Ž. Bujas, "On Translational Conversion in English: Serbo-Croat Contrastive Analysis" to appear in Studies 6.

2. Ibidem.

3. First published in 1945. The edition used was by Mladost Publishers, Zagreb, 1962, 470 pp.

4. Lincolns-Prager, London 1958, 462 pp.

5. B. K., "Contrastive (Serbo-Croat to English) Pronominal Conversion", 18 pp., completed in 1970 at the English Department, Zagreb University.

6. Normally an impressionistic label, but used here to mark cases of translation equivalent, extending over several words of the text, which are individually characterized by the absence of one-for-one correspondence (formal and/or lexical) with the original.

7. Nouns of restricted choise. The nouns possible in this pattern (3. 2. 2.) make up a short list: man, fellow, person, woman, thing, item, notion and, possibly, a few more. The same applies to 3. 2. 3., with its even more restricted list of alternatives: way/manner/fashion or the adverb how.

8. Though resulting from the opposite translation process (E → SC), L. Spalatin's figures, obtained from a pilot corpus, provide some insight into the incidence of no-conversion equivalents, which is 148:40 in favour of No Conversion for this, and 134:33 for that. (Cf. L. Spalatin, "The English Demonstratives this, these, that, those and Their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents", in R. Filipović (ed.), The

Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 2, pp. 106, 107 / Table "Unconditioned Equivalence Probability"/).

9. Also noted by D. Maček in "Relative Pronouns in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), The Yugoslav Serbo--Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 3, p. 115 (example 54).

10. Cf. D. Maček, op. cit., p. 118 (paragraph 4. 2. 5.); and G. Gavrilović, "Linking BE + Predicative Clause in English and Corresponding Structures in Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 3, pp. 47, 48 (paragraph 4).

11. Cf. also Lj. Bibović, "The English Gerund as a Subject and Its Serbo-Croatian Structural Equivalents", in R. Filipović (ed.), The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 7, pp. 15-19 (paragraph 2. 5.); and O. Hadžiselimović, "Intransitive Verbs - Adverbials or Complements Containing Non-Finite Verb-Forms", in R. Filipović (ed.), The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 4, pp. 19, 20.

12. Z. Grdanički, "Subject Composed of Clause", in R. Filipović (ed.), The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, Reports 5, 40-55.

13. Milan Drvodelić, Hrvatskosrpsko-engleski rječnik, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1970.

14. Example by Ž. Bujas.

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ADJECTIVE COMPARISON IN ENGLISH AND CORRESPONDENT STRUCTURES IN SERBO-CROATIAN

0. Comparison is a feature of both English and Serbo-Croatian adjectives. More importantly - as will be shown below - compared adjectives in one language often correspond, structurally and semantically, to compared adjectives in the other language. This is due to the fact that the two languages not only have the same degrees (positive, comparative, superlative) and types of comparison (equality and inequality, with its subtypes of superiority and inferiority) but that comparison is effected in both of them in similar ways (inflectionally and analytically) and that compared adjectives in one and the other language occur in similar sentence patterns. Finally, comparison occupies the same place in the grammars of English and Serbo-Croatian, and the explanatory model that is eventually adopted for one will also be valid for the other - when allowance is made for language-specific differences which lie pretty close to the surface.

All these contrastive statements are borne out by our teaching experience, which does not point to very serious or deep rooted interference of the mother tongue in the acquisition of English comparative structures by speakers of Serbo-Croatian.

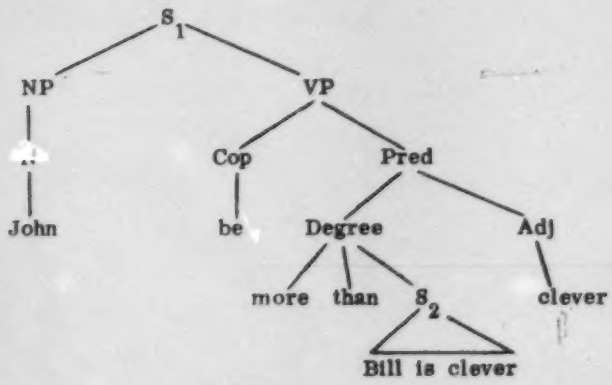
1. A considerable body of literature has accumulated recently dealing with the problem of comparison in the transformational-generative grammar of English.[1] Much less attention has been paid to the semantics of comparative constructions,[2] and less still to their morphology.[3]

This paper will deal with comparative transformations and resulting structures in English and contrastively relevant correspondent structures in Serbo-Croatian. It will also discuss the semantic aspects of comparison in the two languages and consider the problem of usage to the extent that it is contrastively significant. Finally, it will touch upon the morphological aspects of comparison.

2. There are basically two ways in which comparison has been approached within the transformational-generative framework. The first sees the comparative construction as a product of transformations operating on two underlying sentences, while the second rejects the twin-sentence interpretation. A sentence like

(1) John is more clever than Bill.

would be represented in the first approach as follows:



The terminal string would be

(2) John is more than [Bill is clever] clever.

The debate among the proponents of this interpretation has concerned only the structure of the constituent sentence, with Smith (1961) and Chomsky (1965) claiming that it was NP - be - Adj, Lees (1961) and

Huddleston (1967, 1971) positing an abstract degree element within the constituent sentence thus giving it the form NP - be - that (Lees)/than (Huddleston) - Adj, and Doherty & Schwartz (1967) opting for the restrictive relative-clause constituent of the type NP - be - - wh - Adj. We shall not discuss the relative merits of these three proposals because the arguments and counterarguments offered by their originators, though very important linguistically, are not vital from a contrastive point of view. What is much more important is the fact that all three interpretations enable us, by using various transformations which re-order constituents and delete identical material, to arrive at sentences like (1).[4]

The other approach, advocated by Campbell & Wales (1969), is characterized by the rejection of the underlying representation sketched above (except in the case of some comparative constructions in which two constituent sentences are clearly present) and the claim that comparative sentences are intuitively simpler than the transformational derivation shows them to be. Consequently, the two authors offer a new, single-sentence interpretation of comparative structures, somewhat along the lines of Fillmore's proposal, analysing comparative constructions as two-term predicates (or bi-nominal verb structures). König (1971: 103-106) has shown, however, that some syntactic facts, notably in German but also in some other languages, cannot be handled by this theory as meaningfully as by the revised standard theory. Huddleston (1971: 267-268) also rejects Campbell & Wales's argumentation as well as their reasoning, which he regards as faulty (to the extent that they equate intuitive feelings about the simplicity of a sentence with just one aspect of syntactic structure, namely, the transformational derivation).

3. Not much is known about the exact operation of different transformation rules which result in a variety of comparative structures.

We have seen, first of all, that there is disagreement concerning the nature of the base on which the rules would have to operate. Second, the place of these rules in the grammar and their ordering among themselves is not quite clear. Third, we do not know precisely which rules are needed to derive all possible comparative structures. We shall therefore take such structures as given and refer to their derivational history only when this promises to shed some light on the contrastive problem.

3.1. The type of sentence illustrated in (1) has two counterparts in Serbo-Croatian:

(1SCa) John je pametniji nego Bill.

(1SCb) John je pametniji od Billa.

Some interesting observations can be made on the basis of these two sentences. The first, like its English counterpart, is built in such a way that it is intuitively possible to postulate two underlying sentences for it, roughly as shown in the diagram for sentence (1). Notice that maximum deletion has applied in (1) and that the derivational process might have stopped a stage earlier:

(1_1) John is more clever than Bill is.

Copula deletion is optional in Serbo-Croatian too, it requires deletion of the conjunction <u>što</u>, which can appear only before a full sentence. In the constituent sentence, the adjective can be deleted or pronominalized:

(1_1SCa_1) ? *John je pametniji nego je Bill.[5] ('John is more clever than Bill is.')

(1_1SCa_2) John je pametniji nego što je Bill. ('John is more clever than what Bill is.')

(1_1SCa_3) John je pametniji nego što je to Bill. ('John is more clever than what that /i.e. clever/ Bill is.')

In a sentence like (1), the constituent-sentence adjective is obligatorily deleted in both English and Serbo-Croatian:

(1_2) * John is more clever than Bill is clever.

(1_2SC) * John je pametniji nego što je Bill pametan.

However, when the second term of comparison is expanded, the constituent-sentence adjective can be preserved in Serbo-Croatian (at least in my dialect), though not in English:

(1_3) John is more clever than is (*clever) Bill, who always pretends he knows everything best.

(1_3SC) John je pametniji nego što je pametan Bill, koji se uvijek pravi kao da sve zna najbolje.

The second of the two Serbo-Croatian sentences given above, (1SCb), does not readily disclose a twin-sentence origin, and it is not clear how it might have been derived from two underlying sentences. On the contrary, it would seem to support the single-sentence derivation of comparative structures. Several questions can be raised in connection with the fact that Serbo-Croatian has two predicative comparative structures: Is this a case of perfect syntactic synonymy? (It is imaginable that the two structures might have different meanings, but if they do the difference is very difficult to demonstrate.) Is it possible that there are more sources than one for comparative structures? And how many such sources are there? (Some of the comparative structures are certainly derivable more easily from one source than from another; none of the sources so far offered can alone account for all comparative structures that we find).

English has a situation, involving the adjective different, which closely parallels what we have just said about Serbo-Croatian comparatives:

(3) John is different from Bill.

(3_1) John is different than Bill.

Leaving aside the different to alternative (John is different to Bill), we note that sentence (3) is like Serbo-Croatian (1SCb), but sentence (3_1) is not like Serbo-Croatian (1SCa) or English (1), since (4) is not the underlying form for (3_1):

(4) John is different than [Bill is different] .

If different is in fact a comparative form[6] (cf. much more clever, much greener, much different but *much clever, *much green), then an account of two comparative constructions is needed as much for English as it is for Serbo-Croatian.

Pedagogical implications of everything said so far about the situation in English and Serbo-Croatian are not very dramatic. The crudest type of interference, found in the speech of beginning learners of English, is caused by the presence of the od-comparative in their mother tongue, so that we find ungrammatical constructions like (5) and (6):

(5) *John is more clever from Bill.

(6) *John is more clever of Bill.

The use of the preposition of is motivated by examples such as jedan od nas ('one of us'), and strengthened by its presence in superlative structures such as najveći od svih gradova ('biggest of all the cities'). Like in all other areas of language learning, students readily generalize that the observed partial overlap must mean complete identity: noting that od finds its English equivalents in of (as above) and from

(as in različit od 'different from', dobiti nešto od nekoga 'get something from someone'), and not knowing that a number of other equivalents are possible (such as out of, since, with, against, etc., including of course than), they assume that one of these two prepositions must be used whenever they wish to form a construction that corresponds to their native construction with od. Such errors, however, are neither very widespread nor very persistent, thanks in the first place to the fact that their native language offers another comparative model which leads to the correct English than-construction.

It is conceivable that the learner might equate the comparative particle nego with its homonym conjunction nego (ne želim vaš život nego vaš novac, 'I don't want your life but your money')[7] and produce sentences such as (7):

(7) *John is more clever but Bill.

However, mistakes of this kind are not found, possibly because the conjunction nego appears in the types of sentence which are learned in the foreign language only when comparison has already been mastered.

Pronominalization of the constituent-sentence adjective in Serbo-Croatian might result in the learner producing English sentences similar to those given as glosses for Serbo-Croatian sentences (1_1SCa_2) and (1_1SCa_3). This rarely happens, however, probably because deletion is possible, indeed quite natural, in Serbo-Croatian. Besides, and more generally, interference is not normally caused by the syntactically more complex structure of the mother tongue when a parallel but simpler structure exists which can take the learner straight to the target structure.

Finally, and for similar reasons, we do not find errors that would be produced under the influence of the Serbo-Croatian construction illustrated in (1_3SC).

3.2. The second term of comparison in the above examples has been a nominal group. But other structures, such as adverbial adjuncts (including prepositional phrases) and dependent clauses, are also found in that position in both English and Serbo-Croatian. In such cases, comparison usually involves only one term - seen at two different points in time or space, or seen against a certain standard specified by the than-structure:

(8) The prices are higher than before.
(8SC) Cijene su više nego prije.
(9) The prices are higher than they used to be.
(9SC) Cijene su više nego (što) su bile.
(10) The prices are higher than before the war.
(10SC) Cijene su više nego prije rata.
(11) The prices are higher than I thought.
(11SC) Cijene su više nego (što) sam mislio.

In all these cases, as the translations indicate, no interference is predicted, because the transformational processes in the than- and nego-elements of comparison are identical. Only sentence-types (9SC) and (11SC), with their pronominal što (which is optional), could prompt the learner to produce (9_1) and (11_1) in English:

(9_1) The prices are higher than what they used to be.
(11_1) ?*The prices are higher than what I thought.

Also, if (9SC) and (11SC) correspond to (1_1SCa_2), then it is possible to introduce the pronominal to into these sentences to make them correspond to (1_1SCa_3):

(9SCa) Cijene su više nego što su to bile.

(11SCa) Cijene su više nego što sam to mislio.

Notice that the od-type of comparative structure is not possible in Serbo-Croatian unless a nominal group is present:

(12SC) *Cijene su više od { ranije. / što su bile. / prije rata. / što sam mislio.

(We exclude here another reading of the sentence Cijene su više od ranije/prije rata, in which od is used in the meaning of since: Prices have been higher since earlier/before the war.) Like in English, a demonstrative pronoun can act as the head of the nominal group in Serbo-Croatian, with the adverbial adjuncts switching their function to that of nominal modifiers:

(13SC) Cijene su više od onih { ranije. / prije rata. ('The prices are higher than those { before. / before the war.')

But a very interesting phenomenon is observed when the demonstrative is thus introduced: pronominalization takes place only when two different referents are involved. While in (8SC) and (10SC), like in the English sentences (8) and (10), we were comparing one and the same set of prices with regard to their respective heights (so that the quality was the only variable, something like 'The prices are higher than these same prices were before'), we are now comparing two different sets of prices (something like 'The current prices are higher than some other prices were before'). When only one referent is possible, demonstrative pronominalization does not work and the od-comparative is ungrammatical:

(14SC) *Ivan je sada mudriji od onoga ranije. ('John is now wiser than that /John/ before.')

(14SCa) *Ivan je sada mudriji od ranije.

For the same reason, the od-comparative is unacceptable in the following sentence, where again we find only one term of comparison:

(15SC) *Cijene su više od onih što sam mislio.

Another problem of ellipsis involving comparative structures can cause some interference. We have already seen, in sentence (1_3SC) above, that the constituent-sentence adjective can be preserved under certain conditions in Serbo-Croatian but not in English. The same potential source of interference is found when a clause follows nego:

(16SC) Cijene su sada više nego (što) su bile visoke prije rata kad ...

(16) *The prices are higher now than (what) they were high before the war when ...

3.3. Separate mention deserves to be made of those comparative structures in which the second term of comparison is a measure unit. Their Serbo-Croatian correspondents are always od-comparatives:

(17) This wall is higher than 10 feet.

(17SC) Ovaj je zid viši od 10 stopa. (*nego 10 stopa)

(18) This piece is heavier than a ton.

(18SC) Ovaj je komad teži od jedne tone. (*nego jedna tona)

Such examples shed interesting light on our interpretation of comparative structures: they show that there is a communicative difference between nego-comparison and od-comparison. In the latter, the second term is taken as given, as a point of reference against which the first term is measured. When we say that a wall is higher than ten feet,

we are only giving information about the wall, not about the ten feet:

(19) *Ten feet is lower/less high than the wall.

(19SC) *Deset stopa je niže nego zid.

(These sentences are starred under their normal reading in the context of situation in which units of measurement are accepted as agreed upon by the interlocutors, so that no information needs to be given about them. If it is discovered at one point that this assumption does not hold, and that one of the interlocutors does not assess the height of ten feet properly, the other may attempt to define it for him by reference to an object whose height is known or demonstrable: Ten feet is less high than the wall. The topic of this sentence now is 'ten feet,' not 'the wall' any longer.) When, on the other hand, neither of the two terms is clearly marked as a standard point of reference for the quality with respect to which the two terms are compared, then it is up to the speaker's assessment of the communicative situation to decide whether both terms will be taken as unknown, and information provided about both by setting them against one another, or whether one will be taken as known to provide a reference point for the description of the other.

What is claimed here, in fact, is that the normal two-term comparison in English is ambiguous and that a sentence like

(20) John is taller than Bill.

can mean either (1) 'I'm telling you something about John and Bill, they are of unequal heights, and John is the taller and Bill the shorter of the two', or (2) 'I'm telling you something about John, I take it for granted that Bill's height is known to you, well, John's height exceeds Bill's height'. The Serbo-Croatian nego-comparison would correspond to reading (1) of the English sentence, while the od-comparison would correspond to reading (2):

(20SCa) John je viši nego Bill.

(20SCb) John je viši od Billa.

The Serbo-Croat learners' intuitive matching of this od and the English from (cf. 3.1. above) can now be explained by the fact that the comparative od, like the preposition od (od jutra do večera, 'from morning till evening'), is used to signify a known reference point of departure against which a change or a difference can be gauged.

3.4. Both English and Serbo-Croatian allow the entire than- (nego-) element to be deleted, thus leaving the comparative adjective in what is potentially the sentence-final position:

(21) These proposals are more interesting.

(21SC) Ovi su prijedlozi zanimljiviji.

The second term of comparison, not explicitly stated, is recoverable from the context.

3.5. Comparative adjectives, like all other adjectives, have another major positional characteristic - ability to function as attributes of nouns, both in prenominal and postnominal positions. This property is equally characteristic of English and Serbo-Croatian comparative adjectives and is not a source of serious interference in the speech of Serbo-Croatian learners of English.[8] The most important point to note for them is the fact that only nouns with indefinite determiners can be attributively modified by comparative structures in English:

(22) It was a/*the more comfortable place than any other that I had visited.

(23) It was a/*the place more comfortable than any other that I had visited.

(22SC) Bilo je to ugodnije mjesto nego bilo koje drugo/od bilo kojeg drugog što sam ga do tada posjetio.

(23SC) Bilo je to mjesto ugodnije nego bilo koje drugo/od bilo kojeg drugog što sam ga do tada posjetio.

It is possible, in English, for the comparative adjective to precede the indefinite article:

(24) It was more comfortable a place than any other that I had visited. (but: *It was nicer a place than ..., cf. also: It was much nicer a place than ...)

(24SC) Bilo je to ugodnije mjesto nego bilo koje drugo/od bilo kojeg drugog što sam ga do tada posjetio.

This position deserves to be emphasized at higher levels of English teaching, not because of the danger of interference, but because it is an apparent exception to a more general rule of modification sequence (according to which the articles come first in a sequence of modifiers) and the learners may feel reluctant to use such structures.

Postnominal modification is the rule in both languages when the nominal group is headed by an indefinite pronoun:

(25) Anything better than this will be hard to find.

(25SC) Bilo što bolje od ovoga teško će se naći.

Identity constraints with attributive comparatives (i.e., the requirement that both terms should belong to the same class) are the same in English and Serbo-Croatian:

(26) You can't imagine a more diligent boy than Mary.

(26SC) *Ne možeš zamisliti marljivijeg dječaka nego (što je) Marija.

(27) You can't imagine a more diligent boy than John.

(27SC) Ne možeš zamisliti marljivijeg dječaka nego što je John.

(28) You can't imagine a boy more diligent than Mary.

(28SC) Ne možeš zamisliti ni dječaka marljivijeg nego što je Marija. ('You can't imagine even a boy more diligent than Mary.')

The negative particle ni in (28SC) seems to be required to emphasize the presupposition that boys are normally more diligent than girls. (The same effect is achieved in the spoken language by stressing dječak.)

Identity constraints and deletion rules are coupled with the choice of nego- or od-comparatives:

(29) I bought a bigger car than a Cadillac.

(29SC) Kupio sam veći auto nego što je Cadillac.

(29SCa) ? Kupio sam veći auto nego Cadillac.

(29SCb) * Kupio sam veći auto od Cadillaca. (but: Kupio sam auto veći od Cadillaca.)

When the terms of comparison change, deletion rules apply differently:

(30) I bought a bigger car than my neighbour.

(30SCa) *Kupio sam veći auto nego što je moj susjed.

(30SCb) Kupio sam veći auto nego moj susjed.

(30SCc) Kupio sam veći auto od svog susjeda.[9]

3.6. It was noted at the beginning of the previous section that comparative adjectives can modify only nouns with indefinite determiners. This is true when real, descriptive comparison is involved. However, comparatives are also used with a demonstrative rather than descriptive force, and in this case the noun is preceded by the definite article. This happens when we are dealing with only two items, both of them

known, one of which is singled out or contrasted with the other by means of the comparative: thus we get examples like the bigger car (of the two) in note /9/, the older generation, the upper lip, the lower middle class, the weaker sex, etc. Definiteness is not formally marked in Serbo-Croatian, but comparatives are also used: starija generacija, gornja usnica, niži srednji stalež, slabiji spol. Apart from such polar constructions and demonstrative contexts (cf. note /9/), the definite comparative is a feature of formal style:

(31) In a match with "Manchester United", "Arsenal" was the more successful team.

(31SC) U utakmici s "Manchester Unitedom", "Arsenal" je bio bolja momčad.

(32) Of the two teams, "Arsenal" was the more successful.

(32SC) Od te dvije momčadi, "Arsenal" je bio bolji. (Not to be confused with the sentence: "Arsenal" j bio bolji od te dvije momčadi. - "Arsenal" was better than the two teams.)

3.7. Absolute comparatives involve no comparison but rather indicate a degree which falls below the positive: older people, better students, warmer climate, etc. Serbo-Croatian uses similar comparatives: stariji ljudi, bolji studenti, toplija klima, and no interference is expected.[10]

3.8. Comparative forms with more in English are not always easy to distinguish from degree expressions with more. Bolinger (1972: 106) shows that a sentence like (33) is capable of two interpretations:

(33) He is more stingy than (he is) frugal.

Under one, he would be stingy rather than frugal; under the other, the degree of his stinginess would be said to exceed the degree of his

frugality. The equivalent Serbo-Croatian sentence is also ambiguous:

(33SC) On je više škrt nego (što je) štedljiv.

When an inflectional comparative is used, the second interpretation becomes more likely:

(33SCa) On je škrtiji nego što je štedljiv.

Restrictions on deletion apply here, and the following sentence is of doubtful grammaticality:

(33SCb) *On je škrtiji nego štedljiv.

Finally, the second-term adjective must remain in the positive:

(33SCc) *On je škrtiji nego što je štedljiviji.

(33SCd) ?On je škrtiji nego štedljiviji.

This last example is important because there are adjectives which are compared in such positions in Serbo-Croatian, though not in English, which can cause some interference:

(34) The window is wider than it is high.[11]

(34SC) Prozor je širi nego što je visok.

(34SCa) *?Prozor je širi nego visok.

(34SCb) Prozor je širi nego viši. ('The window is wider than higher.')

(34SCc) Prozor je širi nego što je viši. ('The window is wider than it is higher.')

3.9. Comparative forms are used in both English and Serbo-Croatian to express a gradual increase of a quality:

(35) Life is becoming { harder and harder. / more and more difficult.

(35SC) Život postaje teži i teži.

An intensifying word, sve, is normally used in such constructions in Serbo-Croatian, and is often sufficient to indicate gradual increase, so that the comparative does not have to be repeated:

(35SCa) Život postaje sve teži (i teži).

Looking at (35SCa) one might expect to find errors in the learners' use of English resulting from a confusion of this structure with the one represented in (36), which finds its equivalent in (36SC):

(36) Life is becoming all the {harder / more difficult} for her as there is no one now she can turn to for help.

(36SC) Život postaje za nju u toliko teži što sada nema nikoga kome bi se mogla obratiti za pomoć.

This does not, however, happen, because of the more general tendency on the part of the learners not to allow their native language to push them into structures of greater complexity (and such is (36) for Serbo-Croatian speakers) if a not very complex transformation (or translation) within their mother tongue enables them to come close to the structure desired in the foreign language.[12] The fact that the learner equates sentence (35SC) with (35) will facilitate his proper use of this type of comparative construction; however, the same fact will hinder his acquisition of other structures which can also be regarded as equivalent to the Serbo-Croatian structure (e.g. Life is becoming increasingly difficult).

3.10. Another type of structure involving comparatives is the so-called comparative of proportion. In English, it is formed by using two compared adjectives, each preceded by the definite article. In Serbo-Croatian, the što ... to, or colloquial čim ... tim, construction is used with such comparatives:

(37) The better the job, the higher the pay.

(38) The happier she is, the younger she looks.

(37SC) Što je bolje namještenje, to je viša plaća.

(38SC) Što je sretnija, to izgleda mladja.

4. All types of comparatives discussed so far have been comparatives of inequality (the two terms were specified as unequal), more particularly of superiority (with one term being superior to the other with respect to the quality against which they were being measured). There is one more type of comparative of inequality - namely the comparative of inferiority. Here again, the two terms are shown to be unequal with respect to some quality, but one is shown to possess it to a lower degree than the other. The situation is expressed only analytically in both languages, the corresponding morphemes being less and manje:

(39) This lot is less expensive than the one before.

(39SC) Ova je pošiljka manje skupa nego prethodna.

In both languages, the construction is often avoided in favour of negated comparison of equality:

(40) This lot is not as expensive as the one before.

(40SC) Ova pošiljka nije tako skupa kao prethodna.

It is sometimes replaced by the comparative of an opposite adjective:

(41) This lot is cheaper than the one before.

(41SC) Ova je pošiljka jeftinija od prethodne.

This is not possible, however, with a negated adjective, because its replacement with its positive counterparts changes the original meaning:

(42) His story is less uninteresting than hers.

(42SC) Njegova je priča manje nezanimljiva nego njezina.

(43) His story is more interesting than hers.

(43SC) Njegova je priča zanimljivija nego njezina.

The presupposition in (42) and (42SC) is that both stories are uninteresting; in (43) and (43SC) nothing is said about the interestingness of his story, while her story is said to be less interesting than his.

5. Apart from comparison of inequality there is also comparison of equality - expressed with as ... as in English and isto tako/toliko ...kao/koliko i, jednako tako/toliko,..kao/koliko i and some other constructions in Serbo-Croatian:

(44) She is as old as he (is).

(44SC) Ona je isto tako/toliko stara kao/koliko i on.

(44SCa) Ona je isto tako/toliko stara kao što/koliko (je) i on.

(44SCb) Ona je jednako tako/toliko stara kao/koliko i on.

(44SCc) Ona je (jednako) stara kao/koliko i on.

When the Serbo-Croatian sentence is negated, the emphatic elements isto or jednako and i are dropped:

(45) She is not as old as he.

(45SC) Ona nije tako/toliko stara kao on.

Notice that while (44) and (45) are straight comparisons, without intensification (so that nothing is said about his being old in these sentences), (44SC), and especially (45SC), contain the element tako, which is at the same time comparative and intensifying. Bolinger (1972: 27,28) claims the same for so in negative comparisons of equality: in fact, he would say that only (45) is a normally negated comparison of equality, while (46) is a case of strong intensification:

(46) She's not so old as he. (i.e., he is old)

If this distinction is indeed made in English (standard grammars do not make it - they merely say that so is the preferred form in the negative but that as is also good English), there is nothing that corresponds to it in the Serbo-Croatian system of comparison and the closest unambiguous equivalent of (46) is (46SC):

(46SC) On je stariji nego ona.

5.1. Comparatives of equality are also used attributively, and their general behaviour in that position corresponds to the behaviour of attributive comparatives of superiority. They are used both postnominally and prenominally with indefinite nouns:

(47) Have you ever met a man as honest as John?
(47SC) Jeste li ikad sreli čovjeka tako poštenog kao (što je) John?
(48) Have you ever met as honest a man as John?
(48SC) Jeste li ikad sreli tako poštenog čovjeka kao što je John?[13]

Attention will have to be drawn to the ungrammaticality of (49) in English:

(49) *Have you ever met an as honest man as John?

5.2. Like in the case of comparison of inequality, there are very few instances of comparisons of equality in which English and Serbo-Croatian take, so to speak, different views of reality. One such instance is illustrated in the following pairs of sentences, where the English comparative of equality is translated by a Serbo-Croatian superlative or comparative of inequality:

(50) She is as pretty a girl as any in our town.
(50SC) Ona je jedna od najljepših djevojaka u našem gradu.
('She one of the prettiest girls in our town.')

(51) This was as useful a suggestion as anyone in our office has made.

(51SC) Bio je to korisniji prijedlog od bilo kojega drugog što ga je itko iznio u našem poduzeću. ('This was a more useful suggestion than any other made by anyone in our office.')

Literal translations of (50) and (51) would be not only awkward but also inadequate, since they would merely say that the girl was not less pretty than any other girl in our town, or that the suggestion was not less useful than those made by other people in the office, while what the English sentences say - in a form of understatement - is that the girl was prettier and the suggestion in fact more useful than the others. This kind of structure is difficult for Serbo-Croatian learners - obviously not as a pattern but as usage - because it involves a different attitude to reality. Their native structure will not lead them to ungrammatical English, but it will prevent them from reaching that particular target structure.

5.3. There is one more situation in which English and Serbo-Croatian disagree: it involves numerical expressions of the kind twice as big, five times as strong, three times as long, etc. Comparing two terms in this way, English uses comparison of equality and Serbo-Croatian comparison of inequality:

(52) This dress is three times as expensive as the other.

(52SC) Ova haljina je tri put skuplja nego ona druga. ('This dress is three times more expensive than the other.')[14]

5.4. Finally, mention ought to be made of the use of comparisons of equality in which the second term is the adjective possible:

(53) I'll try to make my presentation as brief as possible so that enough time is left for your questions.

Serbo-Croatian uses the comparative of superiority in the construction što + (biti moguće) + Comp to express the same semantic relationship:

(53SC) Nastojat ću svoje izlaganje učiniti što (je moguće) kraćim, tako da nam ostane dosta vremena za vaša pitanja.

The meaning of this construction in both languages is in fact superlative, and a normal paraphrase of (53SC) would be (53SCa):

(53SCa) Nastojat ću svoje izlaganje skratiti do najveće moguće mjere/na najmanju moguću mjeru, tako da nam ostane dosta vremena za vaša pitanja.

The learner who has not mastered the as ... as construction in this use will actually rely on this last sentence as a model for his English expression rather than attempt to translate (53SC) literally into English:

(53a) I'll try to shorten my presentation to the greatest possible extent .../I'll try to cut down my presentation to the minimum ....

N O T E S

/1/ Lees (1961), Smith (1961), Chomsky (1965), Pilch (1965), Huddleston (1967), Doherty & Schwartz (1967), König (1968), Campbell & Wales (1969), Stanley (1969), Green (1970), Ross & Perlmutter (1970), Hale (1970), R. Lakoff (1970), König (1971), Huddleston (1971).

/2/ Semantic aspects are naturally treated along with syntactic problems of comparison in most of the contributions listed in note /1/, but few analysts take semantics of comparison as their starting point. Cf. Bolinger (1967, 1972). König (1971) lists Limber (1969), which I have been unable to consult.

/3/ Again, some details are given by various authors, but the most recent comprehensive statement of the modern usage is still found in Pound (1901).

/4/ Two short contributions by Ross & Perlmutter (1970) and Robin Lakoff (1970) doubt the acceptability of this analysis, while at the same time admitting their ignorance of what the correct analysis should look like.

/5/ Though I find this sentence hard to accept, the following example would indicate that adjective pronominalization is optional:

John is far more clever than are those who attack him.
John je daleko pametniji nego su oni koji ga napadaju.

/6/ Notice that one of the Serbo-Croatian equivalents of <u>different</u> does not accept <u>nego:</u>

John je različit od Billa.
*John je različit nego (što je) Bill.

But the adjective drugačiji, also an equivalent of different, accepts nego at least as readily as it accepts od:

John je drugačiji od Bilia.
John je drugačiji nego (što je) Bill.

/7/ The homonymy between the comparative nego and the disjunctive nego is more than a matter of accident. Notice that both have the negative element ne- and that the disjunctive conjunction requires negativization:

*Želim vaš život nego vaš novac.

In a positive sentence, nego is possible only if comparison is involved:

Želim vaš novac više nego vaš život.

For other connections between negation and comparison, see Ross (1966:12), König (1971:116-118), Lakoff & Ross (1970:126), Green (1970:126-127).

/8/ Interference does occur, and Serbo-Croatian learners of English fail to use English comparatives, when the translation equivalent of an English comparative is some other part of speech in their native language. This is the case in examples like the following:

The workers demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and better housing conditions.
Radnici su zahtijevali povećanje plaća, skraćenje radnog vremena i poboljšanje uvjeta stanovanja.

Starting from such nouns in Serbo-Croatian, learners will use corresponding nouns in English (like increase, reduction, improvement) and produce grammatically correct sentences (e.g., the workers demanded wage increases, reduction of working hours,

and improvement of housing conditions), but will be prevented by their mother tongue from reaching the target (comparative) construction.

/9/ This sentence is ambiguous: first, it can mean that the car that I bought was bigger than the car which my neighbour bought; second, under a less normal interpretation, it can mean that the car which I bought was bigger than my neighbour; third, od can be interpreted as from and the sentence taken to mean 'I bought the bigger car from my neighbour'. This last reading, barely possible with this word order, becomes unambiguous when the comparative-modified noun comes to the 'definite' (topic) slot at the beginning of the sentence:

Veći auto kupio sam od svog susjeda.
*Veći auto kupio sam nego moj susjed.

/10/ Notice, however, that this type of comparative is more widespread in Serbo-Croatian than in English and that errors are predicted in learners' speech in the area of English degree expressions: instead of using degree expressions such as rather, quite, etc., the learners will tend to use comparative constructions which formally correspond to Serbo-Croatian comparatives (in the manner shown in the glosses accompanying the sentences below):

Naslijedio je veću svotu novaca. ('He inherited a larger sum of money.')
He inherited quite a large/handsome sum of money.
Već se duže vremena osjeća nestašica ... ('For a longer time now we have felt a shortage of ...')
For quite some time now we have felt a shortage of ...

The point deserves to be emphasized in teaching (and, before that, studied in greater detail under the heading "English Degree Words and their Serbo-Croatian Equivalents"), particularly in view of the existence of the morphological pattern in Serbo-Croatian illustrated by adjectives such as podulji (longish, rather long), postariji (elderly), podeblji (rather fat, rather thick), etc.

/11/ Notice the synthetic comparative in English and the fact that this sentence cannot be interpreted as 'The window is wide rather than tall'. In Serbo-Croatian, too, the normal reading is as in English and not 'Prozor je prije širok nego visok'.

/12/ This is another instance (the first was noted in 3.1. above) of learner-behaviour which shows that factors other than mere similarity or dissimilarity of contrastive structures decide whether interference will occur or not. The learner is sophisticated enough to neutralize some of the differences between his mother tongue and the foreign language by resorting to operations of transformation, paraphrase, or translation to bring his native structure closer to the desired foreign structure.

/13/ Interference that can be expected, and is indeed found, in connection with this type of comparison is the use of so in this construction, since the equivalence between the intensifying adverb tako and so is firmly established in the learners' minds:

Have you ever met so honest a man as John?

Even such is found more often in the learners' speech than as. This can only be explained as due to the fact that the intensifying significance of tako remains present in their intuitions even when no more than mere comparison is intended:

Have you ever met such an honest man as John?

/14/ Comparison of equality is possible but less common in Serbo-Croatian:

Ova haljina je tri put tako skupa kao ona druga.

This construction would facilitate the acquisition of the desired English structure, but as it is far less frequent than the corresponding comparative construction (and felt as distinctly dialectal by some speakers) it is seldom taken as a model on which the learners pattern their own speech in English.

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CONTRASTIVE AND NON-CONTRASTIVE ASPECTS OF ASPECT[1]

1.0. This will be an attempt to supplement what has already been said about verbal aspect within the Project by Mira Vlatković in her report "Elements of Aspectives in English" (Vlatković, 1969). Another introductory remark that should be made is that my doctoral dissertation, which provides most of the ideas for this report, was not conceived as a contrastive study in the usual sense, especially not a pedagogically oriented one. In fact, if it has any practical pedagogical implications, they are more likely to be of use to English-speaking learners of a Slavic language - more particularly SC - than the other way round. Consequently, the material in the present report is the product of a rethinking of the ideas in my earlier study with an emphasis upon a pedagogical contrastive viewpoint in the SC - E direction.

1.1. Verbal aspect has meant different things to different grammarians at different periods of time. The interested reader can find a fairly detailed survey of traditional views of aspect in Chapter 1 of my dissertation.

1.2. The view that I have adopted in my work on aspect is based on the notion of temporal contour introduced by Hockett in A Course in Modern Linguistics with the following sentence: "Aspects have to do, not with the location of an event in time, but with its temporal distribution or contour." (Hockett, 1958, p. 237). Another possible qualification of this view of aspect would be to say that while tense accounts for the grammatical phenomena deriving from the relative time of the

action or state expressed by a verb (that is, relative to the moment of utterance or mental conception), aspect accounts for the phenomena stemming from the absolute time of the action or state of the verb, from its inherent temporal features that represent its temporal 'contour', which does not change with a change of tense and which is present in both the finite and the non-finite manifestations of the verb, in fact most characteristically in the most neutral form, the infinitive.

1.3. Most temporal contours may be represented diagrammatically. Thus the contour of vidjeti in the sense of 'notice' can be conceived of (and therefore drawn) as a point, the same verb indicating the state of one's having perceived something visually or mentally (e.g. Vidim jednu kuću 'I see a house', Vidim šta hoćete reći 'I see what you mean') is representable as a solid line, perhaps like this ——, showing that the state encompasses a span of time during which there is no development or process of any kind whatsoever, vidjati 'see occasionally' as a dotted line (.....) to show that what is involved in the meaning of the verb is a series of point-like events linearly distributed on the time-line, trčati 'run' in its one-event meaning as a continuous line with an arrow at one end (⟶) to show the temporal continuity of the action as well as the process of progression or development of the action with the flow of time, etc.

1.4. Although verbal aspect is usually attributed to verbs in isolation, especially in Slavic languages where a large majority of verbs carry a built-in morphological marker of perfective or imperfective aspect (it is usually the former that is positively marked, the mark of the latter being mostly zero), we will consider as aspectual all those grammatical phenomena that derive from the temporal contour of the predicate phrase.

This means that although the verb generally occupies the central place in the determination of aspect due to its central position in the predicate phrase, it is also possible for adjectives and nouns to be aspectually marked in a grammatically significant way. For example, the E progressive (which, in my view, is only one manifestation of a more comprehensive aspectual category corresponding to the traditional imperfective aspect) is equally acceptable in all of the following sentences:

(1) He is joking.

(2) He is being funny.

(3) He is being a nuisance.

1.5. In my work on verbal aspect in E and SC I concentrated mostly on the syntactic constraints which were traceable to aspectual features of verbs and predicate phrases in general. Thus, I established an opposition of two aspectual categories corresponding to the Slavic imperfective-perfective opposition not by studying the meaning of isolated verbs forming such an opposition (I regard minor distinctions in the meanings of verbs, such as those introduced by prefixes in a Slavic language and particles in E, as properly belonging to the study of the phenomena traditionally known by the German term aktionsart, SC glagolski lik), but on the basis of the following difference in syntactic behavior of verbs and VP's in E and SC:

(4SC) Dok je to radio, osjetio je bol u ledjima.

(4E) While he was doing that, he felt pain in his back.

(5SC) *Dok je to uradio, osjetio je bol u ledjima.

(5E) *While he did that (completed act), he felt pain in his back.

There are, in fact, a large number of syntactic contexts to which the two aspectual categories 'react' differently; the difference shows either

as a difference in grammaticality (as illustrated by (4) and (5)) or as a meaning difference, as in:

(6SC) Morate je poznavati.

(6E) You must know her.

(7SC) Morate je prepoznati.

(7E) You must recognize her.

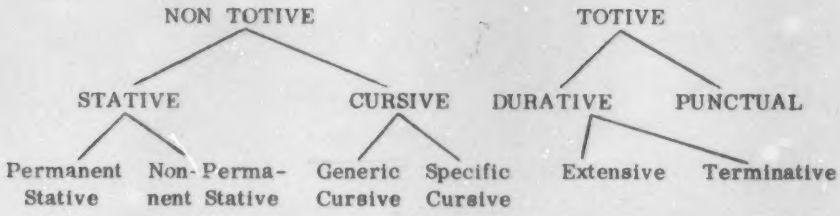
The meaning of (6) in both E and SC is that of 'logical necessity', the meaning of (7) is 'obligation' (which becomes evident if we supplement (7) with something like "... or else our scheme will fall through.") Another difference between (6) and (7) is reflected in the time reference of the main verb in each sentence: the imperfective verb of (6) refers to present time, the perfective of (7) to a future point of time.

1.6. From now on I will limit myself to bringing up only those results of my earlier work on aspect which have a direct bearing on a SC - E contrastive analysis of verbal aspect, which begins in the next paragraph.

2.0. There are two main areas in which the results of my work on verbal aspect are applicable to problems faced by native speakers of SC trying to learn E. One is the use of modals and some other concatenative verbs in E, the other is the use of the E progressive (the be + - ing structure), and, to a lesser extent, of the E perfect. A minor aspect-related problem also to be treated in this report is the problem of the proper use of verb forms in E conditional and temporal clauses.[2]

2.1.0. Below is the diagram of aspectual categories and subcategories which I have found it necessary to posit in both E and SC to account for all the syntactic constraints of an aspectual nature that I

have examined.



2.1.1. Non-totive and totive correspond to traditional imperfective and perfective aspects respectiveiy. The older terms were found inadequate because they imply that 'perfective' verbs designate the completion of the action expressed by the corresponding 'imperfective', which, apart from being based on an idea of aspect inconsistent with my own, is hardly true of a large number of aspectual pairs, such as the one quoted earlier, vidjeti - vidjati. I find that the signaling of the completion of the verbal action, in Slavic languages usually by means of a prefix, is more in the nature of an aktionsart and I have in fact kept the term 'perfective' for an aktionsart occurring with punctual aspect. The term 'totive' has been adopted because it represents best what I find to be the common aspectual denominator of all 'perfective' verbs: the indivisibility or totality of the temporal dimension or contour associated with them, even if the verb implies duration of some time, as with totive duratives (see section 2.1.5). The grammatical basis for setting up these two categories in E, partially illustrated in section 1.5., will become evident in the discussion of their contrastive relevance in E and SC.

2.1.2. The aspectual difference between the two subdivisions of non-totive aspect, the ones I have called stative and cursive, is reflected in the following examples:

Stative		Cursive	
(8SC)	*Dok je soba mjerila 3 x 4 metra, slika je pala sa zida.	(9SC)	Dok smo mjerili sobu, slika je pala sa zida.
(8E)	*While the room measured 3 by 4 meters, the picture fell from the wall.	(9E)	While we were measuring the room, the picture fell from the wall.
(10SC)	*To se desilo usred njenog vjerovanja u pravdu.	(11SC)	To se desilo usred njenog spavanja.
(10E)	*That happened in the middle of her believing in justice.	(11E)	That happened in the middle of her sleeping.[3]
(12SC)	-Šta radiš?*-Znam engleski.	(13SC)	-Šta radiš? -Učim engleski.
(12E)	-What are you doing? *-I know English.	(13E)	-What are you doing? -I am learning English.

These examples show that the temporal contour of statives is totally devoid of any progression or development of either the state denoted by the verb or the time occupied by it - hence we cannot use any segment of it for a temporal reference of any kind (since, in fact, there <u>are</u> no segments), as shown by the examples of (8) and (9), nor can a stative co-occur with a grammatical category showing progression in time of whatever is expressed by the verb, such as the E progressive and the SC <u>pravi prezent</u>, as shown by the examples of (12). None of these restrictions apply to cursive verbs, as evidenced by the corresponding sentences in the right-hand column.

2.1.3. While the two subcategories of stative aspect share the syntactic constraints set out in the foregoing paragraph, they have differences of their own based on the following reactances:[4]

	Permanent Stative		Non-Permanent Stative
(14SC)	*Sutradan je njegovo imanje počelo da staje 500 dolara.	(15SC)	Sutradan ju je počeo mrziti (or: zamrzio ju je).
(14E)	*The following day his estate began to cost $ 500.	(15E)	The following day he began to hate her.
(16SC)	*Ustao je i sličio na svog oca.	(17SC)	Ustao je i osjećao se zbunjeno.
(16E)	*He stood up and resembled his father.	(17E)	He stood up and felt embarrassed.

I have given here only two reactances: one, illustrated by the examples of (14) and (15), showing that a permanent stative cannot, and a non-permanent stative can, be used in structures designed to convey the idea of a momentary inception of a state[5], the other, illustrated by (16) and (17), showing that a permanent stative cannot, and a non-permanent stative can, be conjoined to a preceding totive (='perfective') VP, if the tenses of the conjoined verbs are the same.

2.1.4. The cursive verbs and/or verb phrases can be subdivided into generic and specific cursives on the basis of the following reactance:

	Generic Cursive		Specific Cursive
(18SC)	Dok su putovali, mislila je da ga voli.	(19SC)	*Dok su prelazili La Manche, mislila je da ga voli.
(18E)	While they traveled, she thought she loved him.	(19E)	*While they were crossing the Channel, she thought she loved him.

Thus, generic cursives - typically verbs and VP's denoting habitual actions - can be used in an adverbial time clause setting the temporal frame for a co-extensive non-permanent stative, while specific cursives - verbs and VP's indicating single events of some duration - cannot be so used.

2.1.5. The totive aspectual category can be divided into two major subcategories, one consisting of totives which not only can, but must involve duration of some time, i.e. duration longer than a point of time, the other subcategory being the punctual aspect of verbs whose actions are conceived of as taking place at a (mathematical) point of time. Thus, durative totives can be modified by time adverbials denoting <u>periods</u> of time, while punctual totives cannot be so modified:

	Durative Totive		Punctual Totive
(20SC)	Posjeo je desetak minuta.	(21SC)	*Pao je desetak minuta.
(20E)	He sat (for) about 10 minutes.	(21E)	*He fell down (for) about 10 minutes.
(22SC)	Pojeo je sve za 10 minuta.	(23SC)	*Progutao je posljednji zalogaj za 10 minuta.
(22E)	He ate it all up in 10 minutes.	(23E)	*He swallowed the last morsel in 10 minutes.[6]

2.1.6. It is also possible to subdivide the durative totive category into two subcategories on the basis of the fact that we cannot reverse the adverbials of (20) and (22) and still have grammatical sentences. This is because the temporal contour of verbs like <u>pojesti</u> 'eat up' implies, in addition to duration, a terminating point, absent in verbs like <u>posjesti</u> 'sit for a while'. I have called the subaspect of the former group of verbs <u>terminative</u>, that of the latter group <u>extensive</u>.

2.1.7. It should be pointed out that many terminative verbs in SC and some in E may also be used with punctual aspect. E.g.:

	Terminative		Punctual
(24SC)	Pročitao je tu knjigu za 3 sata.	(25SC)	Pročitao je tu knjigu tačno u tri sata.
(24E)	He read the book in 3 hours.	(25E)	He finished reading that book exactly at 3 o'clock.
(26SC)	Prešla je most za 10 minuta.	(27SC)	Prešla je most u 10 sati.
(26E)	She crossed the bridge in ten minutes.	(27E)	She crossed the bridge at 10 o'clock.

(The intended reading of (27) is: 'she reached the opposite bank of the river at 10 o'clock'.) As these examples show a terminative verb or VP becomes punctual if we isolate, by means of appropriate context, the termination point of the terminative verb. In E we cannot do this with the VP read the book, but we can do it with cross the bridge. Besides, the latter VP can have a second punctual interpretation if the event of crossing the bridge is conceived cf as a durationless point.

3.0. After this survey of the aspectual categories that I have posited for E and SC, we can turn to the more direct concerns of this report, that is aspect-related problems for SC learners of E. Of the two main areas of contrastive applicability of my study of aspect, announced in section 2.0., I am first going to discuss the problems involving the use of E modals and some other concatenatives.

3.1. E modal verbs are known for the fairly complex variety of meanings which may attach to them in various grammatical and situational contexts. Since there is little correspondence in the meaning of 'corresponding' E and SC modals, E modals constitute a very difficult chapter of E grammar for Yugoslav learners. I believe that keeping track of the aspect of the main verb or verb phrase co-occurring with the modal can be of great help in mastering this complex area of E grammar.

3.2.0. Let us first see what use we can make of the most general aspectual dichotomy of non-totive versus totive in the treatment of E modals. Before discussing the details of the co-occurrence of these aspectual categories with individual modal verbs, I should point out that the non-totive aspect in E is a more comprehensive category which can be manifested by the component of 'durativeness' contained in the meaning of the verb itself (as in know), by the progressive and the perfect occurring with any verb, and by a feature which I have marked (+repetitive) and which can be signaled either by a frequency adverbial in the same sentence or by general context.

3.2.1. A general effect of totive aspect co-occurring with verbs preceded by modal auxiliaries is to decrease the number of possible interpretations of the modal. This is partly due to the fact that totive verbs co-occurring with modals tend to have only future time reference, which automatically rules out some possible interpretations of individual modal verbs.

3.2.2. This effect is seen at work in the first modal that we shall look at, the modal must:

(28) He must drink.

(29) He must drink a glass of milk.

The aspect of the main verb in (28) is non-totive, in (29) it is totive. As a result of the aspectual difference, the modal in (28) may mean either 'obligation' or 'logical necessity', while the same modal in (29) can only mean 'obligation'. The latter sentence could, however, be invested with the possibility of the twofold interpretation of the former by the addition of the feature (+repetitive), which, as was pointed out in 3.2.0., is capable of turning the aspect of a verb to non-totive, e.g.:

(30) He must drink a glass of milk every day.

The use of either the progressive or the perfect with the main verb co-occurring with must, on the other hand, usually creates the effect of allowing only for the meaning of 'logical necessity', as in:

(31) He must be drinking (a glass of milk) (every day).

(32) He must have drunk a lot (every day).

3.2.3. Somewhat similar reactance to the two aspects is found in the VP's combined with the negative form of can:

(33) She can't read Chinese writing.

(34) She can't read the whole book.

In addition to the meanings of 'ability' or 'permission' (which are more precisely called in the negative 'lack of ability or permission') shared by both sentences, sentence (33) with non-totive aspect may also have the meaning of 'logical necessity', which, when can is negated, is also labeled 'inadmissibility of supposition'. This last meaning is rendered in SC as NP mora da ne.. and is easier to grasp if we expand (33) with something like "... or else she would have helped me read the letter from my Chinese pen-pal."[7]

3.2.4. We will now use could in a pair of sentences different with regard to the non-totive-totive opposition in the VP:

(35) They could save 1,000 dinars a month.

(36) They could save her from bankrupcy.

While the 'conditional' meaning of could, paraphrasable as would be able to and usable both as a 'pure' conditional and as the 'soft' version of can, is present in both (35) and (36), could in (35) can also be interpreted as the simple past tense of can, i.e. it can mean were able to, which the could of (36) cannot. This fact has special contrastive relevance in relation to SC since this language admits the sentence:

(36SC) Mogli su je spasiti od stečaja.,

which Yugoslav learners translate readily into E as (36), assigning to could the non-admissible function of 'past tense'. They should be warned that since (36SC) has only 'contrary-to-fact' meaning, it should be expressed in E by means of the structure could + perfect infinitive. (To facilitate understanding of the rather complex aspect-conditioned differences in the meaning of E modals, the main points are presented in tabular form in section 3.2.7.)

3.2.5. The only difference which the totiveness feature brings to VP's used with may and might is to limit the time reference of the 'probability' meaning of these modals to future time; compare the following sentences:

(37) He may know that.

(38) He may find out about that.

The same is true of can and could used with the meaning of 'probability'.

3.2.6. Will expressing the speaker's supposition about a present state of affairs is compatible only with non-totive verbs, as shown by the difference between the following two sentences:

(39) You will know my brother.

(40) You will meet my brother.

If we want to assign to (40) the meaning of 'supposition' (relating to a past event or its present consequences), we have to add the formative /perfect/, which, as we have seen, makes the main verb non-totive:

(41) You will have met my brother.

3.2.7. I will now present in tabular form those characteristics of E modals which are conditioned by the aspect - totive or non-totive - of the verb or verb phrase with which they associate.

Features of meaning of the associated VP

Modal Auxiliary	-Shared by totive & non-totive VP's	-Specific to non-totive
MUST	obligation	logical necessity
CAN'T	lack of ability or permission	inadmissibility of supposition
COULD	'would be able to'	'were able to'
WILL	futurity, volition, determination, etc.	supposition about a present situation
MAY-MIGHT CAN-COULD[8]	permission and future possibility	present possibility

3.2.8. The foregoing considerations about the meaning of E modal verbs in relation to aspect have not been presented in the manner of a contrastive analysis in a strict sense of the term. The conclusions

reached are, however, contrastive in their origin in that they are based on an aspectual opposition which, in most cases, is morphologically marked in SC. Translated into pedagogical language this means that an easily recognized grammatical distinction in the native language will be used for easier mastery of some fairly complex grammatical phenomena in the foreign language.

3.3.0. Under this 'broader' view of contrastive analysis as study of a language by comparison with another for the purpose of finding whatever possible 'short-cuts' and 'hints' can be found in the learning of one language by speakers of the other, it is possible to point to some aspect-related facts which should prove useful in the learning of E conditional and temporal clauses by speakers of SC.

3.3.1. Let us look at the following sentences:

(42SC) Ako budeš spavao svako popodne, udebljaćeš se.
(42E) If you sleep every afternoon, you will put on weight.
(43SC) Ako zaspiš (budeš zaspao), nećeš čuti zvono.
(43E) If you fall asleep, you won't hear the bell.

These sentences show that in SC conditional clauses expressing a condition that may or may not be fulfilled in future (so-called 'real condition'), ako is used to translate E if and the tense corresponding to E present in such clauses must be futur drugi (budem + active past particple) if the verb is non-totive; if the verb is totive, however, the tense of the SC verb is usually present, although it may also be futur drugi (with a minor difference of grammatical meaning). This aspect--conditioned difference between E and SC is a frequent source of mistakes responsible for Yugoslav learners of E saying or writing something like

(44) If you will sleep every afternoon, you will put on weight.

intended as the equivalent of a sentence such as (42SC). They should be warned that sentences like (44), though not ungrammatical, do not convey the same 'neutral' meaning as sentences like (42SC) do in SC. The presence of will in an E if-clause introduces an element of volition on the part of the subject and/or request on the part of the speaker, so that (44) is closer in meaning to the SC sentence:

(45) Ako budeš htio (voljan, rad) da spavaš svako popodne, udebljaćeš se.

Such mistakes are especially frequent with the highly frequent verb biti whose forms budem, budeš, etc., obligatory after ako in this type of clause, are too often rendered wrongly as will be.

3.3.2. Analogous problems arise in the case of E adverbial clauses of time beginning with when, as, while, as soon as, until, before, etc. and referring to a future point or period of time. Again, the corresponding SC clauses require the use of futur drugi with non-totive verbs, and the auxiliary budem leads many Yugoslav learners to the use of such complexities as will/shall be, will/shall have been, and going to be instead of the correct and simpler present tense[9]. It appears that the old slogan "after temporals no future" does not do all the work that it is supposed to do in preventing mistakes of Yugoslavs regarding this rule of E grammar. What is needed is a great deal of well organized practice in which translation from SC should occupy the most important part.

3.3.3. In practising consistent application of this rule of E grammar by Yugoslav learners, it would be convenient to divide the temporal conjuctions introducing clauses that refer to a future time into three groups. The first group would consist of conjunctions which introduce references to future points of time: as soon as, till, until, before,

after, by the time, and once. Their SC counterparts are generally used with a following totive verb in present tense. Since E requires also present tense in the same position, there are few learning problems here. All that has to be pointed out is that the same conjunctions may also be used with the following verb in present perfect, if emphasis is upon completion of the action; this happens especially after after and once, as in:

(46E) He will go after/once he has closed his store.

(46SC) Otići će nakon što zatvori/bude zatvorio radnju.

Regardless of whether the tense in the E time clause is simple present or present perfect, its SC counterpart must be present or, more rarely, futur drugi (the latter being perhaps less rare in the case of E present perfect). With this first group of conjunctions learners will begin to practice the proper use of tenses in E temporal clauses in the easiest possible way, since the tenses are at this point largely correspondent in the two languages. Still, they will get some practice in avoiding translating budem with will be or some future equivalent. The second group will contain two conjunctions that may introduce references to either future points or future periods of time: when and as. Learners should first be exposed to their use in reference to future points of time, since such use calls for present tense of the following verb in E and usually present of totive verbs in corresponding SC clauses, which, therefore, hardly constitutes a learning problem. They should then be given ample practice in the use of when and as referring to a future period of time, a use which does not affect the tense of the following E verb but requires futur drugi in corresponding SC clauses, which, therefore, constitutes a major learning problem. The problem is compounded by the fact that E will use the -ing form of the verb if duration or process of the action is emphasized:

(47E) As you are crossing the bridge, you will notice an old inscription on a column in its middle.

(47SC) Kad budete prelazili most, primijetićete jedan stari natpis na stubu u njegovoj sredini.

The obligatory futur drugi of non-totive verbs of a sentence like (47SC) almost invariably calls forth incorrect structures like *When you will be crossing the bridge .... While and as long as will make up our third group of E temporal conjunctions. These two are capable of referring only to a future period of time. As a result, their SC equivalents (sve) dok, dok(le) god can only combine with a following futur drugi of non-totive verbs. Yugoslav learners should by now be able to react to this with the correct present tense in E (combined with the progressive if duration is emphasized). Those who don't should be given additional drills aimed at doing away with elaborate and incorrect E renderings of the SC futur drugi.

3.4.0. I will now look at some aspect-related problems which are not necessarily specific to SC learners of E. In fact, some of them may be less difficult to SC learners just because they are easily made aware of E aspectual categories parallel to the ones in their own language. These problems still belong in this report because they are based on points of E grammar discoverable by a comparison with SC. They concern what structuralists called concatenative verbs, i.e. verbs which, though not modal, are followed by the infinitive (with or without to) of another verb which completes their meaning. They have traditionally been included in the class of verbs of 'incomplete predication'.

3.4.1. We should perhaps mention first the verbs begin and stop (in the sense of cease). It is a long established fact of Slavic grammar that Slavic verbs corresponding to these two verbs cannot be concatena-

ted with 'perfective' (i.e. totive) verbs:

(48SC) *Počeo je (prestao je) ostati u Kini 3 sedmice.

(48E) *He began (ceased) to stay in China for three weeks.

I have deliberately chosen what I have called a totive durative verb phrase (cf. 2.1.5.) which, unlike a totive punctual, obligatorily involves duration of a period of time that we might logically suppose to have a beginning and an end. However, here, as in so many other cases, logic and grammar don't go hand in hand: the temporal contour of totives is perfectly 'solid' so that no section of it - including its initial and final points - can be used for grammatical reference of any kind whatsoever. The same constraint holds good in E too. However, (48E) is ungrammatical only under the 'one-event' interpretation. Begin and cease may assign non-totive aspect to a following VP and thus make a sentence like (48E) grammatical. This change of aspect without change of surface structure seems to be possible with a large number of aspectually unmarked E VP's. In the case of (48E) it would be effected by an iterative interpretation of the infinitive phrase serving as complement of begin or cease. That is one of the reasons why this particular aspectual constraint is not pedagogically as relevant in E as it is in SC. The student should, however, be told that it is impossible for a totive verb to keep its totive aspect after begin and stop (or their synonyms).

3.4.2. Another verb of incomplete predication that is restrictive with regard to aspect of the verb functioning as its complement is the linking verb seem; compare the following:

(49) He seems to know the answer.

(50) *He seems to learn the answer.

These sentences show that seem will be linked only to a verb of non-totive aspect. This is supported by the fact that (50) would become acceptable if a frequency adverbial, such as every day, were added to it, since such an addition would change the totive aspect of the infinitive phrase of (50) to non-totive.

3.4.3. The expression have yet to, frequent in colloquial E, reacts to the aspect of its complement in the opposite manner from the foregoing reactance:

(51) He has yet to learn the answer.

(52) *He has yet to know the answer.

3.4.4. The verb like is interesting in that it restricts the aspect of its complement to non-totive, unless it is introduced by a modal:

(53) She would/might like to see the old church.

(54) *She likes to see the old church.

It is interesting to note that although the same constraint is valid in SC (*Ona voli da vidi staru crkvu is ungrammatical under the one--event interpretation), Yugoslav learners, just like learners of so many other countries, will sometimes make the mistake of saying *Do you like to see our museum. This is another confirmation of the well-known fact that not all mistakes are contrastive in their origin. The mistake just mentioned is, I think, due to the extension to an inappropriate grammatical context of the phrase Do you like to ... which is usually acquired early in the process of learning E and, having become easily accessible, tends to be overused.

3.4.5. Similar to pure concatenatives is the case of wish used with a clause as its complement, as in I wish I were you. The corresponding SC structure is usually volio bih + da-clause, e.g.:

(55) Volio bih da znate mog brata.

(56) Volio bih da upoznate mog brata.

These examples show that, in the SC subordinate clause in this structure, a non-totive verb in the present tense denotes a 'contrary-to-fact' wish referring to present time, while a totive verb indicates a 'realizable' wish referring to future time. To convey these meanings E uses the past subjunctive of the non-totive verb and would + to-less infinitive of the totive verb:

(57) I wish you knew my brother.

(58) I wish you would meet my brother.[10]

The important contrastive fact here is the lack of grammatical parallelism in E subordinate clauses, due to the aspectual difference of the verbs involved, contrasted with the parallelism of the corresponding SC structures. Having learned to say a sentence like (57), a SC speaking learner is led, or rather misled, by the structure of his language to say (as I once did):

(59) *I wish you met my brother.

Conversely, if he first learns to say something like (58), he might come up with:

(60) *I wish you would know my brother.

I do not think that it would be pedagogically wise to try and relate all the grammatical details of the SC structure with those of the corresponding E one. All that needs to be done is to point out that, in E., after (I) wish one uses past tense with non-totive verbs for a wish referring to present time, and would + to-less infinitive with totive verbs for a wish referring to future time. After this 'warning' the teacher may proceed to drill his students in the proper use of this structure.[11]

4.0. I will now take up the progressive forms of the E verb and try to show how my scheme of E aspectual categories can be used in facilitating the use of the progressive forms of the verb by foreign learners of E in general, and more particularly by those whose native language is SC. May I remind the reader that, in my view, the progressive is one of three basic manifestations of the non-totive aspect (cf. 3.2.0.). This, however, is true only at the syntactic level, i.e. in terms of the structure of a single sentence. But the progressive also has what I think should properly be called its semantic aspects related to aspects of the 'real world' or, more precisely, of the 'real world' as reflected in the speaker's mind. (In fact, most of what usually goes by the name of 'the use of tenses' is, in my view, of a semantic rather than syntactic nature.) It is these aspects of the progressive that I propose to discuss now.

4.1. There is quite clearly something in the nature of a 'cline' (in Halliday's sense of the term) in the plan of E and SC aspectual categories that I have posited. If the reader will look at the diagram in section 2.1.0., she or he will easily observe the following: the left-most category of permanent statives is made up of verbs such as pertain, weigh, belong, which, regardless of grammatical context in which they are used, imply considerable duration of what they stand for. In fact, their duration is unlimited in the sense that it is often coextensive with the very existence of the subject of which they predicate something. This is true, for example, of weigh in the sentence That book weighs almost a pound. As we go from one category to the next from left to right in our diagram, the intrinsic duration of whatever the verbs signify becomes more and more limited until we come to the rightmost category of punctual verbs which are conceived of as taking place at a (mathematical) point of time, i.e. whose duration,

psychologically speaking, is zero.

4.2.0. Since the primary semantic function of the progressive is to denote relative duration of whatever is meant by the verb, there is an interesting relationship between the aspectual categories and subcategories as I have posited them and the use of the E progressive: the more limited the intrinsic (or 'lexical') duration of a verb becomes - as happens when we move from left to right in our diagram - the more likely it becomes that the verb will combine with the progressive form for expression of relative duration. Only totive durative verbs and VP's do not share this tendency. I will now take up individual aspectual categories to examine the implications of this general relationship for the use of the progressive with each of them.

4.2.1. Permanent statives denote, as their name suggests, 'permanent' states of unlimited duration and therefore never combine with the progressive[13]. The establishment of this aspectual category helps us make more precise the well-known but usually rather loosely formulated rule that 'certain' verbs, which denote various states, are not used with the progressive. We can now say that of the two categories of statives, permanent statives are never used with the progressive, while non-permanent statives may be so used (see next section). Verbs which belong in the permanent stative category are of two basic kinds: they may denote a (permanent) property of the subject, or its relation to another entity. The former kind includes verbs such as weigh, measure (both only in their stative sense), cost, contain, deserve, strike someone as, most surface structure adjectives, such as tall, deep, expensive, fat,[13] and the overwhelming majority of surface structure nouns. The latter kind of permanent statives is made up of verbs such as belong, pertain, relate, surround (the last

two only with inanimate subjects, or animate subjects used in a 'passive' i.e. non-agentive sense); also of adjectives same(as), perpendicular (to), similar (to), far, near, etc.

4.2.2. Non-permanent statives are typically made up of verbs indicating (1) a mental state: know, understand, believe, remember, realize, suppose, (2) an emotional state: like, love, admire, care, regret, appreciate, (3) passive perception: smell, taste, feel. Non-permanent statives, normally used, do not combine with the progressive. However, they are different from permanent statives in that it is not impossible for them to co-occur with the progressive. This may happen if the speaker wants to suggest that the state or condition indicated by a verb is not completely static, that some development of the state or condition is implied. Usually, it is the intensity of the (emotional or mental) state that is considered. Someone who didn't like England at first but began to like it later might, at one point of her or his stay there, say: I am liking England more and more. This seems to be more likely to happen with verbs indicating emotional states than with the other two subgroups of nonpermanent statives. But generally speaking, it is possible to use a non-permanent stative in the progressive form whenever the idea of development is compatible with the meaning of the verb. Since we either know, believe, and suppose something - or we don't - the idea of development is not compatible with the meanings of these verbs. With such 'yes/no' states, which are not generally thought of as being of greater or smaller intensity, the progressive is not used. However, most emotional conditions may be more or less intense. This is also true of the mental states indicated by understand and realize, which, therefore, are compatible with the progressive. Some non-permanent statives may also be used as action verbs (cursives). Such are all the verbs of perception

(which then become verbs of active perception) and, of the others, notably admire and remember. Although such verbs, qua statives, denote states that are compatible with the idea of intensity, they are not used with the progressive in their stative function. This is because the use of the progressive is much more usual with cursive verbs and a sentence like I am admiring this town is readily interpreted as an action wilfully engaged in by someone rather than a passive condition that is growing in intensity. Of course, contexts can make one or the other reading more likely, or even rule out one as impossible. Thus, the use of an adjective as a subjective complement with perception verbs automatically rules out the cursive reading, so that, for instance, This rose is smelling better every day can only be interpreted with smell as a non-permanent stative.

4.2.3. Verbs of the generic cursive aspect typically denote habitual actions and are therefore most fittingly used with simple tenses. However, contrary to rules usually found in school grammars, these verbs can be, and indeed quite often are, used with the progressive. This happens especially when the verb is modified by a 'limiting' time adverbial such as at/during that time, these/those days, etc., or if it serves as a time frame for a punctual verb. E.g.:

(61) He was working in a motor factory at that time.
(62) Those days she was watching TV every evening.
(63) He was playing in a jazz-band when he bought that trumpet.

Often, a generic cursive is used with the progressive without a limiting time adverbial in the same sentence. Then it serves to emphasize progression of the (habitual) action rather than to state the mere fact of its having taken place. The progressive is also used for stylistic

reasons, mostly for vividness of presentation, and is therefore the preferred conversational form. Whatever the reasons for its use with generic cursives, I think that it is time to 'lift the ban' from such usage and encourage foreign learners to use the progressive with habitual actions more than they have generally done so far. However, since SC requires the use of 'imperfective' verbs with habitual actions, Yugoslav learners who wrongly identify their 'imperfective' aspect with the E progressive tend to overuse the progressive extending it to almost all cases of habitual actions. They should be warned that althought it is not incorrect to use the progressive in cases such as those discussed in this section, it is definitely not the usual form to be used with a majority of habitual action verbs.

4.2.4. As specific cursive is the aspect of a verb indicating a longer-than-a-point single event, the progressive is the usual form with which this aspect is realized:

(64) He was working in his garage that day.

(65) She was sewing all day yesterday.

(66) He was playing the trumpet when I came in.

However, the progressive is not the obligatory marker of each occurrence of specific cursive aspect. In sentences like (64) and (65) the simple tense would be just as acceptable; indeed the use of the progressive in such sentences may add an emotional note, such as irritation of the speaker at what is being said. This is another fact that is often misrepresented in school grammars, which usually make it appear as though progressive is obligatory with verbs modified by an adverbial specifying that an entire period of time was occupied by the action of the verb. In fact, the use of such adverbials makes the progressive, as an extra signal of duration, somewhat redundant. The case of (66)

however, is different: here the progressive is obligatory. This happens every time a single event serves as the time frame for another point-like event, or, more generally, whenever one of the time points filled by a single event of some duration coincides with another point specified somehow in the sentence, the immediate discourse, or the general context. This provides us also with a very useful obligatory rule[14] for the use of the present progressive: this form must be used for single events going on at the moment of utterance, since one of the time points occupied by the event must coincide with the moment (point) of utterance.

4.2.5. An interesting 'real world' fact is related to the difference between generic and specific cursives: the former verbs and verb phrases indicate actions mostly made up of different single activities, one or none of which is the activity of the verb or VP (compare play in an orchestra which includes actual playing in the orchestra as well as other activities such as buying and (photo) copying music, practising etc., and rule which includes various activities none of which is the activity of ruling), the latter are generally verbs indicating uniform actions. (These matters are discussed by Vendler in the context of analytic philosophy; see Vendler, 1967, p. 109.) I believe that this difference can be used in teaching some facts of the use of the E progressive. It would be fairly safe to say, in a teaching situation, that verbs indicating uniform activities, such as sit, talk, watch, sleep, listen, play the violin (not in the habitual sense which gives the VP generic cursive aspect, or in the 'ability' sense which makes it even a permanent stative) tend to be used with the progressive much more than verbs and VP's indicating actions including a variety of individual activities.

4.2.6. The subdivision of totive aspect into durative and punctual has important consequences for the use of the E progressive. The durative subaspect may not be used with the progressive to denote an on-going action, whether past or present, whereas the punctual is frequently used with that function. In fact, only those durative VP's which I have called extensive (see section 2.1.6.) can at all be used with the progressive; the meaning is, then, that of 'immediate future':

(67) She is staying here (for) two days.

That terminative verbs cannot be used with the progressive is shown by:

(68) *He is building his house in two weeks.

Punctual verbs, however, are freely and frequently used with the progressive:

(69) He is reaching the top.
(70) I am beginning to learn English.
(71) A rock is falling down.
(72) He is knocking on the door.
(73) We are leaving tomorrow.

These examples show that a variety of meanings can be conveyed by different punctual verbs used with the progressive. Since a punctual verb indicates an event conceived of as taking place at a point of time and since a point cannot 'last', the progressive used with a punctual verb never really means duration of the event itself. Rather, it refers to one of the following:

1. Attendant circumstances prior to, and/or after, the point-event, including the event itself, as in (69) and (70).
2. The temporary event which leads to the point-event indicated by the punctual verb, with both events being of the same basic nature (to

be falling down and to fall down are of the same nature, but to be reaching the top could mean merely climbing towards it), as in (71).

3. A series of point-events in close temporal proximity, as in (72).

4. A future event. (This meaning is not restricted to punctuals.)

Which meaning will be conveyed depends on (a) the intrinsic or 'lexical' meaning of the verb, and (b) the other elements in the VP, and sometimes in the sentence or even a broader context. An isolated sentence may be ambiguous as to two or more of these meanings. Thus, for example,

(74) He is breaking the box now.

is ambiguous as to meanings (1), (2), and possibly (3),

(75) She is hitting him.

is ambiguous as to meanings (2) and (3), and every punctual verb with an element of voluntary action in it may, in the progressive form, also have blended in it the meaning of a 'planned future event', unless it is deliberately excluded by context.

5.0. This final part of the present report will deal with the use of the E perfect in relation to the new plan of aspectual categories diagrammed in section 2.1.0.

5.1.0. Starting again from the left-most category of permanent statives, we discover that the perfect very rarely co-occurs with this category. The reason is not difficult to find: the perfect inevitably limits the time reference, in one way or another, of the verb with which it is used; since permanent statives typically denote permanent states, it is to be expected that they will be 'resistant' to a form whose basic function clashes with the notion of permanence. Thus, the

sentence

(76) This rock has weighed a hundred pounds.

strikes us as illogical and for that reason also perhaps ungrammatical.

5.1.1. It seems that there are only two ways in which permanent statives can be used with the perfect. One is in a sentence with the illocutionary force of 'indirect statement'[15], such as:

(77) Until now this problem has pertained to deep structure.

taken as an abridgement of something like "You have been saying that this problem pertains to deep structure" with the understatement "...and you will probably, as usual, change your mind now". The other possible use of permanent statives with the perfect is in combination with the past tense resulting from a past simple such as the following:

(78) The house measured 100 by 75 feet.

The understanding is that the house no longer exists, i.e. that the permanent stative measure is coextensive with the time of the existence of the subject to which it serves as predicate. In indirect speech (78) becomes:

(79) She said that the house had measured 100 by 75 feet.

Another use of perfect with this aspect is found in combination with the word always:

(80) He has always resembled his father.,

especially if this is said in response to a claim like "He now seems to resemble his father more than his mother."

5.2. All other subcategories of non-totive aspect, as well as all the subcategories of totive, freely combine with the perfect. There is, however, an important difference between punctual on one side and all other aspectual categories on the other, in combination with the perfect. The well-known rule which states that, say, present perfect is used

for actions and states which began in the past and continued up to the moment of speaking (which, mutatis mutandis, can also be said of the past perfect) is not true of punctual verbs because of their point-like temporal contour. Thus, the scheme of aspectual categories proposed here enables us to establish the following context-sensitive rules for the use of the E perfect:

1. The perfect is quite freely used with all but permanent stative verbs.

2. Verbs of all other aspectual categories except punctual, used with the perfect, indicate that the action-state occupied a period of time which lasted up to a present/past point of time.

3. Specific cursive aspect is compatible with the perfect only in combination with the progressive. Without the progressive sentences like I have been waiting/sleeping/walking would not indicate single events of some duration, which is the sine qua non of specific cursive aspect.

4. Punctual verbs used with the perfect indicate actions completed at a point prior to the present/past point of reference. Since they thus cannot share in the "main" rule for the use of the perfect (given above under 2.), it is the other usually cited characteristics of the perfect that apply to them: recency of the action, emphasis on the result(s) of the action, the continuance of the period of time during which the action took place up to the present/past point of reference. Individual instances of punctual verbs used with the perfect may be characterized by one of these characteristics or a combination of them. These characteristics may also apply to other aspectual categories used with the perfect, but only in addition to the main rule given under 2. above.

N O T E S

1. This report is based on sections of my doctoral dissertation A Synchronic Study of Verbal Aspect in English and Serbo-Croatian completed in 1969 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A. A revised version of Chapter 3 of my dissertation has been published as "A Reinterpretation of Verbal Aspect in Serbo-Croatian" in R. Filipović, ed., Studies 5, The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Zagreb, 1972, 110-159.

2. In more subtle ways, the aspectual categories that I have posited are relatable also to the category of transitivity in verbs, the number and the mass-count dichotomies in nouns, and to some other grammatical phenomena that, at first blush, seem quite unlikely to have anything to do with aspect. In the present report, however, I will not concern myself directly with such subtleties.

3. Vjerovanje and spavanje, just like believing and sleeping, are nominalizations of bona fide verbs vjerovati and spavati, and believe and sleep, which keep the aspectual features of the verbs from which they are derived and can therefore legitimately be used for illustration of aspectual phenomena.

4. The term reactance was introduced by Whorf (1965, p. 89) to designate indirect manifestations of covert grammatical categories, i.e. those which are not directly signaled by overt morphological markers. Whorf's own example is the E intransitive verb, which is a covert category whose reactance is the lack of the passive particple and the passive and causative voices. Thus, Whorf's reactance is, in fact, the precursor of the notion of 'transformational potential' used by modern grammarians in the establishment of deep structure (i.e. covert) grammatical categories.

5. This is also manifested in the incapacity of SC permanent statives, as contrasted with the capacity of SC non-permanent statives, to form what I have called the inceptive aktionsart indicating the beginning of a state or action, frequently formed with the prefix za-, e.g. mrziti - zamrziti, but stajati ('to cost') - *zastajati, mirisati - - zamirisati but sličiti - *zasličiti.

6. There is a possible, although somewhat forced, interpretation of this sentence, which would not be ungrammatical: we could use it to mean that his swallowing of the morsel took place ten minutes after a specified point of time. This interpretation, however, does not upset our reactance, since in that case the time adverbial does not refer to the actual duration of the action denoted by the punctual verb.

7. I will not discuss contrastive relations of E modals with their SC correspondents unless they are tied up with aspect. For an insightful contrastive analysis of modals in E and SC, the reader is referred to the reports contributed to the Project by Damir Kalogjera (in R. Filipović, ed., The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports 1, 39-44, Reports 2, 120-134, Reports 3, 62-87, Reports 4, 50-72).

8. Only the shared meanings of may-might and can-could are considered in this row. The 'ability' meaning of can-could is not sensitive to change of aspect. It should also be pointed out that can meaning 'possibility' has a rather restricted usage. It is used in general statements such as Anything can happen and Whales can reach a length of 30 feet but cannot replace may in a sentence like It may rain tomorrow.

9. I have carried out something of a private 'experiment' which has convinced me of the tremendous force of the interference that comes from the native language in the learning of a foreign one. In a lecture

on E grammar to first year students at the English Department of the Sarajevo University, I carefully warned the students not to use will(have) be(en) where they see budem, budeš, etc. in their own language. They agreed with me that it is much simpler to use the simple present tense in such cases, so that Kad budete u Engleskoj .... is rendered simply as When you are in England,.... I even promised that I would have them translate exactly the clause at the examination which they were to take in a couple of months, and they promised to translate it correctly. I kept my promise, but hey didn't keep theirs. Over half of them used anything but the correct E form. It was otherwise a fairly good group of students. I thing my 'experiment' showed that there are some things in the grammar of one's native language that seem so 'natural' that we are drawn to transfer them to the foreign language in spite of the knowledge of facts which would have us do otherwise.

10. It is a curious fact that, although many grammarians have established aspectual categories corresponding to totive and non-totive, they have not shown what part these categories play in the sturcture of E sentences. Curme, for instance, divides E verbs on the basis of aspect into four categories (Curme, 1931, p. 373), two of which correspond to the traditional aspectual dichotomy between imperfective and perfective. In another section of his Syntax (p.402-3) he talks about the subjunctive used after wish, but does not relate it to his aspects. With him, as with most other scholarly traditionalists, aspects seem to be purely logical categories with little direct relevance to syntactic well-formedness.

11. The subcategories of the two major aspectual categories that I have posited (see diagram in 2.1.0.) may also be related to the use of modals and concatenatives in E. However, it appears that this relationship is much more subtle and at the same time less general,

which gives it marginal significance in a contrastive analysis with SC. It will, therefore, not be considered in this report.

12. In this sentence 'never' means 'never except in really outlandish styles of fantasy-writing or ultra-modern poetry'. In such styles almost anything goes, and the study of such writings should be undertaken, in my opinion, only after the grammar of more down-to-earth styles is fully understood. In any case, a contrastive study is hardly a place to discuss points of 'outlandish' grammar.

13. The 'permanent stative' label should not be taken literally. As most other grammatical labels, this one also fits only the 'typical' members of the category, its so-called 'prime analogues'. Thus fat, although not a 'permanent' state of individual living beings, is aspectually a permanent stative because, among other things, it cannot co-occur with the -ing form of the verb, as funny can, for example.

14. I find obligatory rules much more pedagogically useful than the 'wishy-washy' optional ones, which have to be complicated by additions of special qualifications and limitations.

15. This is one of the illocutionary acts that I have added to Austin's list on page 98 of his book cited in the bibliography. The illocutionary force of 'indirect statement' would attach to every sentence whose contents are claimed to be true by a person other than the speaker himself, but without explicit information about the claim (which is therefore different from closer-to-surface phenomena of the traditional distinction between direct and indirect speech).

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SOME SERBO-CROATIAN EQUIVALENTS OF THE ENGLISH PASSIVE

1. Introduction[1]

1.1. As this report has a rather limited scope, its aims are best defined negatively. It does not attempt to discuss the problems connected with the passive in either E or SC. It is not concerned with the meaning of the passive or with passive meaning, the passive transformation, or its restrictions imposed by grammatical or lexical considerations. Its purpose is much less ambitious - it simply tries to determine some of the most frequent SC translation equivalents of the E passive, once all considerations have allowed the passive to appear. As in SC there are several possible equivalents of the E passive, the report tries to determine their distributional characteristics, which necessitates a limited discussion of some very basic features of the passive in SC.

1.2. For the corpus and for a number of useful suggestions I am indebted to the diploma essays of my students whose names are listed in the Bibliography.

2. Passive

2.1. E passive can have passive as its SC equivalent. The brackets after the SC examples contain other possible equivalents without any attempt to indicate which of the equivalents is preferred.

(21) He'll be elected governor of the state

(21SC) Bit će izabran za guvernera države (in addition to "Izabrat će ga za guvernera države")

(22) He won't be caught

(22SC) Neće biti uhvaćen (in addition to "Njega nitko neće uhvatiti")

(23) The tenants were forced off

(23SC) Zakupnici su bili silom istjerani (in addition to "Zakupnici su se silom istjerivali")

(24) Two shots were fired

(24SC) Ispaljena su dva hica (in addition to "Dva hica odjeknuše")

(25) We are encouraged to go on with the research

(25SC) Ohrabreni smo da nastavimo s istraživanjima (in addition to " [Rezultati] nas ohrabruju da nastavimo s istraživanjima")

2.2. In SC, as in E, the passive is restricted to transitive action verbs. The passive of description verbs is not usual. The SC passive *"Knjiga je imana [od mene]" (*"The book is had by me") is ungrammatical. In SC there seems to be an additional restriction on the passive, although its disregard has unusual rather than ungrammatical results. Out of a hundred odd examples of the passive in SC collected by my students, there was not a single instance of the passive of an imperfective verb: all the examples contained only perfective verbs. Even in cases where, in the active voice, an imperfective verb would be preferred ("Opozivao je napad nekoliko puta" = "He called off the attack several times"), in the passive the perfective verb opozvati was found: "Napad je opozvan nekoliko puta" (The attack was called off several times"). This tendency can go so far as to disregard the usual equivalence " E progressive form – SC imperfective verb." The sentence "I was paying my debt when he came in" will invariably be translated as "Plaćao (not platio) sam svoj dug kad je on ušao". The same verb in the progressive passive preterit is translated by the SC perfective platiti: "Boon, who was being paid to ..." = "Boon, koji je bio plaćen (not plaćan) da ..."

2.3. The passive is not possible if the verb lacks the

"pridjev trpni" (passive adjective, corresponding to the E -EN form). This is the case mostly with intransitive verbs.

2.4. Speakers seem reluctant to use the passive if its use would require a repeated appearance of the verb biti (to be):

(26) Bio sam pritisnut uz neku ženu

(26E) I was squeezed against a woman

This reluctance is not restricted only to the passive: cf. "Otišao sam" instead of "bio sam otišao" in "Otišao sam prije nego je on stigao" ("I had left before he arrived").

2.5. Most of the instances collected are not true passives as their passive adjectives show both verbal and adjectival properties.

a. Verbal properties. The quasi-passive sentence has an active analogue:

(27) Ohrabreni smo da nastavimo s istraživanjima ⇐ [Rezultati] nas ohrabruju da nastavimo s istraživanjima.

(27 E) We are encouraged to go on with the investigation ⇐ [The results] encourage us to go on with the investigation

b Adjectival properties.

1 Coordination of the passive adjective with a true adjective:

(28) Ohrabreni smo i spremni da nastavimo s istraživanjima

(28E) We are encouraged and ready to go on with the investigation

2. The possibility of modifying the passive adjective by a typical adjective modifier:

(29) Prilično smo ohrabreni da nastavimo s istraživanjima

(29E) We are rather encouraged to go on with the investigation

3. The substitution of biti by some other verb not functioning as a passive auxiliary:

(210) Osjećamo se ohrabreni da nastavimo s istraživanjima

(210E) We feel encouraged to go on with the investigation

2 6 We feel comparatively safe in speaking of the true passive only in cases where the active subject is expressed in the form of converted subject. We do not mean to imply that the "true" passive has to occur with the converted subject - we only mean that the occurrence of this subject indicates, in most cases, that what is involved is the true passive rather than the quasi-passive. In such cases, the converted subject in SC is in the instrumental case:

(211) Prednji dio teretnjaka bio je opkoljen naoružanim ljudima

(211E) The front of the truck was surrounded by armed men

(212) Bio je užasnut prljavštinom

(212E) He was appalled by the dirt

2 7 The instrumental-case converted subject is possible only if the verb admits of an instrumental-case complement:

(213) He will be elected by the people

(213SC)*Bit će izabran narodom

(214) He will be surrounded by people

(214SC)Bit će okružen ljudima

2 8 A converted subject introduced by the preposition od (corresponding to the E preposition by) is not acceptable in Standard SC, although it is occasionally heard or seen in print:

(215) The house was built by me

(215SC)*Kuća je sagradjena od mene

The only acceptable SC equivalent of the above E passive sentence is a SC active sentence whose subject is the converted subject of the E passive sentence (see 6.1.). If in E the passive is chosen to put the converted subject in rhematic position, the same effect can be achieved in SC by either putting the subject at the head of the sentence and giving it a contrastive stress ("Ja sam to učinio") or by putting it in the rhematic position ("To sam učinio ja"), or

by combining the contrastive stress with the rhematic position. The same result is achieved also by contrastive stess on an item in non-rhematic position ("To sam ja učinio")

3. Reflexive

3.1 We have said that there is a rather marked reluctance to use the (quasi-)passive forms of imperfective verbs In such cases, another passive-equivalent SC construction is quite frequent. It consists typically of joining the reflexive pronoun se to the third person of otherwise non-reflexive verbs, as in

(31) Što se govorilo(there is no such verb as "govoriti se")

(31E) What was being said

(32) Zakupnici su se silom istjerivali (there is no such verb as "istjerivati se")

(32E) The tenants were forced off

(33) Tada se zatvaraju vrata

(33E) Then the doors were closed

3.2. Frequently the subject of the sentence containing a se --passive is interpreted as the object of the transitive verb made reflexive, and the subject, despite the protests of the grammarians, is put in the accusative case, as in

(34) Čovjeka (acc) se po besjedi poznaje (instead of the "correct" Čovjek (nom)se po besjedi poznaje[2])

(34E) A man can be known by what he says

From this it is obvious that se, at least in the popular use, does not have the usual function of indicating the identity of the subject and the object, as in that case the subject would be clearly indicated as such and it would not be confused with the object. No SC speaker is likely to produce a sentence like"* Mene(acc.) se brijem svako

jutro"" instead of "Ja (nom.) se brijem svako jutro"(I shave [myself] every morning"). The accusative is acceptable only if the meaning is passive - "Mene se brije svako jutro".

3.3. This confusion is due to the possibility of two interpretations of the reflexive. The official interpretation maintains that se is the accusative object of the transitive verb brijati and consequently another accusative object is inadmissible. The popular instinct, on the other hand, interprets se as a purely passive signal which leaves the object slot of the transitive verb empty and it is filled by the object case of the nominal in the subject position. In this way the absence of the true subject is made more conspicuous, which emphasizes the agentless (passive)character of the construction.

3.4. Perfective verbs also occur with se, although such occurrences are statistically less frequent than those of imperfective verbs, in relative terms:

(35) Svakog se proljeća obilježi jedna sredina

(35E) Every spring a middle is streaked off

3.5. In most cases there is a certain more or less prominent reluctance to use a perfective verb in the se-passive. The sentence

(36) Kuća se gradila dva mjeseca (graditi is imperfective)

seems preferable to

(36a) Kuća se sagradila za dva mjeseca (sagraditi is perfective)

In the latter case, probably the passive would be used:

(36b) Kuća je sagradjena za dva mjeseca.

3.6. When se occurs, the third person singular present form of the verb biti (to be), i.e. je, is deleted in Standard SC:

so that this passive is preferred in cases which would otherwise require two forms of the verb. The following sentence containing se (for se je) seems more satisfactory than the one which contains two forms of biti (sentence (37a)):

(37) *Kuća se gradila dva mjeseca*
in my idiolect seems preferable to
(37a) Kuća je bila sagradjena za dva mjeseca
The E equivalent is
(37E) The house was built in two months

3.7. With the se-passive, the converted subject is impossible as there would be two different agents:
(38) *Vrata se zatvaraju od noćnog čuvara
(38E) *Somebody closed the doors by the nightwatchman

3.8. There are instances which seem to contradict the above statement of the impossibility of a converted subject with the se-passive. What seems to be the agent appears in the shape of an instrumental-case noun:
(39) Roba se prevozi kamionima
(39E) Goods are transported by trucks

3.9. The apparent agent is in reality an adverbial adjunct, occurring in the place of the nonexistent adverb *kamionski (*truckly); which is a rather frequent use of instrumental-case nouns. The adjunct function of the instrumental-case noun is clearly seen in cases where there is a true adverb derived from the noun appearing in the instrumental case. In such cases either the instrumental-case noun or the adverb can be used:
(310) Roba se proizvodi rukom (ručno)
(310 E) The goods are produced by hand (manually)

That the noun kamionima is not the agent is seen from the corresponding active sentence which preserves the spurious converted subject as an adjunct:

(311) Mi prevozimo robu kamionima

(311E) We transport goods by trucks

3.10. Absolutely reflexive verbs (those that have no corresponding non-reflexive transitive counterpart) do not convey passive meaning:

(312) Smijao se (There is no corresponding non-reflexive transitive verb *smijati.)

(312E) He laughed

3.11 With reflexive verbs having a non-reflexive transitive counterpart, the se-passive is, theoretically, ambiguous. The sentence

(313) Petar se hvali (There is a corresponding non-reflexive transitive counterpart hvaliti, as in "Hvali hranu" = "He praises the food".)

has potentially the meanings:

(313aE) Peter boasts

(313bE) Peter is praised.

3.12. The meaning is only passive if the subject is made into the object:

(314) Petra se hvali (see 3.2.)[3]

3.13. Most speakers would realize the possibility of a passive meaning only if it is especially brought to their attention. The spontaneous interpretation of the sentence is reflexive. This reflexive interpretation of such verbs makes them, in most cases, unsuitable for passive use.

3.14. With a non-human subject, se with transitive verbs indicates

a. passive:

(315) Koža se guli [krumpir se zatim pere i kuha]

(315E) The skin is peeled [then the potato is washed and cooked]

b. pseudo-activity:

(316) Previše izložena suncu koža se guli

(316E) Exposed to too much sun the skin peels.

3.15. The se-passive, combined with an adverb of manner, shows another type of ambiguity. The sentence

(317) Ovdje se dobro pleše

can mean:

(317aE) The people present here dance well (passive in SC)

(317bE) Conditions for dancing are good here (active in SC)

3.16. The se-passive resembles the reflexive phrase used to express pseudo-activity (see 3.17.) The difference between the two is that the se-passive implies a human agent, such as netko (somebody) and similar indefinite expressions, while with the pseudo-activity, the inanimate subject of the sentence is presented as the agent:

se-passive:

(319) Vrata se zatvaraju svake večeri ⇐ [Netko] zatvara vrata svake večeri

(318E) The doors are closed every evening

quasi-activity:

(319) Vrata se zatvore treskom ⇐ Vrata zatvore vrata treskom

(319E) The door closed with a bang

3.17. Instances in which se occurs are all cases of agentless constructions. Such use of se is not restricted to the passive alone. It occurs also in some other agentless constructions. Thus in the case of pseudo-activity:

(320) Knjiga se dobro prodaje
(320E) The book sells well
(321) Vrata se zatvore od propuha
(321E) The door closed because of a draught
(322) Ova se ladica ne da otvoriti
(322E) This drawer will not open

3.18. Also as an equivalent of the generic personal pronoun one:

(323) One never knows
(323SC) Nikad se ne zna

In some environments, the veiled subject of the se-construction is I.

(324) -Kako si?
-Nekako se pliva.
(324E) -How are you?
-One (=I) somehow manages to keep one's head above water

3.19. Also as an equivalent of the E impersonal it:

(325) It seems that he is honest
(325SC) Čini se da je pošten

As an equivalent of it, the se-construction does not occur with the verb biti in impersonal expressions:

(326) It is hot
(326SC) *Vruće se je (Vruće je)

4. Third person plural

4.1. A frequent SC equivalent of the E passive is an active verb in the third person plural with the participle (if present) in the masculine gender:

(41) He was called Joe
(41SC) Zvali su ga Joe
(42) The serfs were beaten
(42SC) Kmetove su tukli
(43) I've been earmarked for matrimony
(43SC) Odredili su me za brak

4.2. The implied agent is human, exclusive of the speaker. For this reason a sentence like
(44) Kuće su porušili
cannot be the equivalent of the E sentence
(44aE) The houses were destroyed [by earthquakes];
it can be the equivalent only of the sentence
(44bE) The houses were destroyed [by the people]

4.3. The passive meaning is present only when the third person occurs without an expressed subject. If a human (or non-human) subject is introduced the meaning is active:
(45) Oni su ga zvali Joe
(45E) They called him Joe (rather than "He was called Joe by them"; they has an antecedent in the cotext)
(46) Potresi su srušili kuće
(46E) Earthquakes destroyed the houses

4.4. In most cases the (quasi-) passive and the se-passive, if the implied active agent is human, can be substituted by this construction:

(47) Bio sam pritisnut uz neku ženu = Pritisli su me uz neku ženu

(47E) I was squeezed against a woman

(48) Pitao sam ga što se govori o meni = Pitao sam ga što govore o meni

(48E) I asked him what was being said about me

(49) Ohrabreni smo da nastavimo s istraživanjima = Ohrabrili su nas da nastavimo s istraživanjima

(49E) We were encouraged to go on with the investigation

4.5 Two types of passive having this SC equivalent can be distinguished. The first type comprises such cases where the implied human agent is general, including all human beings except the speaker. In this case, the passive can be substituted by an equivalent active construction containing ljudi (people) as its subject:

(410) Zvali su ga Joe = Ljudi su ga zvali Joe

(410E) He was called Joe = People called him Joe

4.6. With the second type, the implied human agent is more specific; it is restricted to a specific group of humans. In such cases, ljudi cannot be used as the active subject:

(411) Kmetove su tukli = * Ljudi su tukli kmetove

(411E) The serfs were beaten = *People beat the serfs

(The subject is more specific than the people. It could be something like "the feudal lords," "the bailiffs", or similar.)

4.7. The third person is also an equivalent of the E generic (non-antecedent) they:

(412) They live long in the Caucasus

(412SC) Na Kavkazu dugo žive

5. Active adjective

5.1. In some dialects, there is another kind of passive expressed by means of the so-called "pridjev radni" (active adjective) in -o, -la, -lo. The gender of the adjective is neuter. The implied agent seems to be non-human:

(51) Ubilo ga

(51E) He was killed

(52) Pritislo me

(52E) I am (was) hard pressed for it; I have (had) to empty my bowls, etc.

6. Active

6.1. The active is a very frequent SC equivalent of the E passive, especially when the converted subject is expressed. The converted subject becomes the subject of the SC active sentence:

(61) As if we had been forgotten by war

(61SC) Kao da nas je rat zaboravio

(62) We were led by grooms

(62SC) Vodili su nas konjušari

6.2. In most recorded examples, the rhematic position of the converted subject has been preserved in SC. In fact, there is only one example of the subject occurring in the thematic position. The reason for this one exception is the impossibility of placing the subject at the end. The example is

(63) Maćeha je loše postupala sa sinovima kralja Tesalije

(63E) The sons of the king of Thessaly were badly treated by their step-mother

Any other postion of the subject but the initial is very unusual:

(63a) ? Loše je postupala sa sinovima kralja Tesalije maćeha

(63b) ?Sa sinovima kralja Tesalije loše je postupala maćeha

6.3. In the cases where the subject has been preserved in the rhematic postion, there is nothing to prevent it from occurring initially:

(64) Vodili su nas konjušari - Konjušari su nas vodili

(64E) We were led by grooms

6.4. As all the SC instances are translations from E, it is possible that the end position of the subject was prompted, in addition to rhematic considerations, also by their similar position in the E originals.

6.5. Occasionally a likely subject is supplied from the cotext or the logic of the situation:

(65) The plate was thrown away

(65SC) Tanjur smo bacili (We threw the plate away)

(66) I was being protected

(66SC) Nešto me je štitilo (Something was protecting me)

(67) He and Toglio were blown into the motor pool

(67SC) Njega i Toglia vjetar unese u vozni park (The wind carried him and Toglio into the motor pool)

(68SC) More ih izbacuje na obalu (The sea washes them ashore)

6.6. The active subject in SC is frequently the person suggested by the possessive modifying the passive subject in E:

(69) His legs were crossed

(69SC) Prekrižio je noge (He crossed his legs)

(70) John's legs were crossed

(70SC) John je prekrižio noge (John crossed his legs)

6.7. This is possible only when the implied agent is the owner of the object whose reference is modified by the possessive. The above SC equivalent is possible because the sentence means "His legs were crossed by him", that is, the agent and the owner of the legs are the same. But his in "His head was cut off" cannot be used as the subject of the corresponding SC active equivalent because here the meaning is "His head was cut off by somebody," that is, the owner of the head is he, but the agent is somebody. A likely SC equivalent of this last E sentence is the third person plural - "Odrubili su mu glavu".

7. Lexical equivalents

7.1. In addition to the most frequent SC equivalents of the E passive discussed on the previous pages, in some cases equivalence is sought in the field of lexis rather than in that of grammar. There are presumably a number of ways to achieve this, but we shall mention only two of them which seem to occur with some frequency.

7.2. One of the possibilities is to introduce an intransitive verb, roughly equivalent to the E passive verb:

be fired = odjeknuti

(71) Two shots were fired

(71SC) Dva hica odjeknuše

be uncovered = ukazati se pred očima

(72) A school of maggots was uncovered

(72SC) Pred očima mu se ukaže leglo crva

7.3. The other possibility is to make the SC Main Verb

express the result of the action expressed by E tense be - EN Main Verb, as for instance the substitution of the E passive be given by the SC active dobiti (receive):

(73) I was given a full report of your activities
(73SC) Dobio sam iscrpan izvještaj o tvojoj djelatnosti

NOTES

1. An extensive discussion of the problems of the passive in the two languages by Ljiljana Mihailović is to appear in one of the future issues of the Reports of this Project.

2. According to Ljiljana Mihailović this example is unacceptable in the eastern variant of SC.

3. According to Ljiljana Mihailović this example is unacceptable in the eastern variant of SC.

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CORPUS

The examples used are from the following novels:

Bellow, S.,	"The Adventures of Augie March"
Shaw, I.,	"Lucy Crown"
Braine J.,	"Room at the Top"
Mailer, N.,	"The Naked and the Dead"
Hemingway, E.,	"A Farewell to Arms"

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INDEFINITES IN ENGLISH AND SERBO-CROATIAN

0.1. The English (E) indefinites to be discussed in this paper are: all, every, each, some, any, both, either, neither, other, another, no; everybody, etc., somebody, etc., anybody, etc., nobody, etc.[1,2]

The forms listed in the first part will be treated separately from the compounds having every-, some-, any- or no- as their first elements. The former occur as exponents of the modifier (M) in the structure of the nominal group (NG); the latter occur as exponents of the head (H). Furthermore, many of the M items can occur at H as well.

0.2. The Serbo-Croatian (SC) indefinites are also divided into simple and compound.[3] The simple indefinites are tko (ko), što, (šta), koji, čiji, kakav, kolik, sav. The compound indefinites are combinations of tko, što, koji, čiji, kakav, kolik with ne-, ni-, i-, sva-, gdje-, koje-, što-, ma, bilo as first elements and with bilo, god, -god, (god) mu drago as second elements.[4]

The SC indefinites are inflexionally marked as M-forms or as H-forms. The M-forms are inflected for number, gender, and case; the H-forms are inflected for case only. Of the simple forms, tko and što are H-marked (and occur at H); koji, čiji, kakav, kolik and sav are M-marked (and occur at M) but koji and sav can occur at H as well. Of the compound forms, combinations

of tko and što are H-marked (and occur at H); the others are M-marked (and occur at M), but combinations of koji can occur at H as well.

The paradigm of the SC compound indefinites is given below.

H-marked	forms	M-marked	forms		
netko	nešto	neki (<nekoji)	nečiji	nekakav	nekoliki
nitko	ništa	nikoji	ničiji	nikakav	nikoliki
itko	išta	ikoji	ičiji	ikakav	ikoliki
svatko	svašta	svaki (<svakoji)	svačiji	svakakav	svekolik vaskolik
gdjetko	gdješto	gdjekoji			
kojetko	koješta			kojekakav	
štotko	štošta	štokoji	štočiji	štokakav	
ma tko	ma što	ma koji	ma čiji	ma kakav	ma koliki
bilo tko	bilo što	bilo koji	bilo čiji	bilo kakav	bilo koliki
tko bilo	što bilo	koji bilo	čiji bilo	kakav bilo	koliki bilo
tko god	što god	koji god	čiji god	kakav god	koliki god
tkogod	štogod	kojigod	čijigod	kakavgod	kolikigod
tko mu drago	što mu drago	koji mu drago	čiji mu drago	kakav mu drago	koliki mu drago

The forms in tko are used of persons, those in što are used of things. In standard SC the forms in čiji are used of a singular male person only, but the range is being extended to other gender and number categories as well.

0.3. In many cases there exists a lexical equivalence between E items and SC items, but the two lists are not coextensive.

1.1. The indefinites all, every, each, some, any, both, either, neither, other, another, no operate as exponents of the deictive, which is a secondary element of structure of the nominal group, within the modifier. The primary structure of the nominal group (NG) is modifier, head, qualifier (MHQ), with the possibility of more than one exponent of M and Q, thus (M...^{n}) H (Q...^{n}) where the parentheses indicate optional elements, and "...^{n}" the possibility of progression.

The major positional elements at M are: deictive, ordinator, epithet, nominator (D O E N), but within D and O there is a possibility of more than one exponent and the sequence possibilities are complicated and do not form stable patterns.[5]

The contextual function of the Ds is to identify, i.e. they actualize the item at H.[6] Besides the indefinites, the inventory of the Ds comprise the conjunctive possessive forms of the genitives of nouns, the articles, the demonstratives, and a few other items.

1.2. The Ds exhibit number concord with the H. Below is the table of the Ds arranged according to their concord relations with the item at H.[7] A number of items are capable of belonging to two or three concord classes. The concord classes are labelled Singular, Plural, Mass, according to the class and/or form of noun occurring at H. In each set, the indefinites are listed first, but those which are not discussed in this paper are enclosed in parentheses and items other than indefinites are listed within slant lines. The distribution of the Ds as to concord is as follows:

Singular	every, each, either, neither, another, /a(n)/;

Plural	both, (few, many, several, various), /these, those/;
Mass	/less, little, much/;
Singular/Plural	/which/;
Singular/Mass	/this, that/;
Plural/Mass	all; /a lot of, enough, more, most, such/;
General(Singular/Plural/Mass)	some, any, other, no, /my, etc., John's, etc., the, half, only, own, same, what, whose/.

The M-marked forms in SC are inflected for number, gender and case, and are in concord relation with the noun at H. The only exception is svaki, which has singular concord .

(1) She had thought it over from every angle. [8]

(1aSC) Razmotrila je stvar sa svih strana.

(1bSC) Razmotrila je stvar iz svakog ugla.

(2) It was beautiful now, vivid in all particulars.

(2aSC) Sada je ono bilo lijepo, živo u svim pojedinostima.

(2bSC) Sada je ono bilo lijepo, živo u svakom detalju.

Constructions with the indefinite at M sometimes compete with those in which the M-item occurs at H.

(3a) Some people thought...

(3b) Some thought...

(3aSC) Neki ljudi su mislili...

(3bSC) Neki su mislili...

1.3. In both E and SC there is a possibility of more than one exponent of D. While the sequence in such cases is fixed in E, with just a few exceptions, for SC it could be stated in terms of greater or smaller probability and it may depend on

factors other than grammatical - the attitude of mind of the speaker or writer, considerations of emphasis, style, etc.

(4) All our members are present.

(4aSC) Prisutni su svi naši članovi.

(4bSC) Prisutni su naši svi članovi.

(5) All other questions are irrelevant.

(5aSC) Sva druga pitanja su nevažna / nisu važna.

(5bSC) Druga sva pitanja su nevažna.

The same trend is observable elsewhere within M. While the ordering of elements within M is fixed in English, it is fairly free in SC.

(6) Some kind person.

(6aSC) Neka dobra / ljubazna osoba.

(6bSC) Dobra neka osoba.

Below is a list of the Ds in E, arranged as a sequence table of three columns so that items in the first column would precede items in the second, and items in the second would precede items in the third. The arrangement implies that the items in any one column are mutually exclusive (for the exceptions see below), but it does not imply that every item in any one column can occur with any item in the following and/or subsequent column. In each column, the indefinites are listed in the upper part, and the remaining items are below them. [9]

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
all	every	other
both	each	another
	some	either
	any	neither
	no	

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
half	a/an	several
double	the	various
such	this, etc.	few
many	my, etc.	many
what	John's, etc.	little
	whose	much
	which	most
		enough
		a lot of
		such
		same
		only
		own

1.3.1. The possibilities of combination are restricted: -

(a) There is a set of items that always occur alone as exponents of D: either, neither, another, enough, a lot of.

(7) Sea-fish cannot cross the Border, but when they pass round either end of it they change their names.

(7SC) Morske ribe ne mogu prijeći granicu izmedju Engleske i Škotske, ali kada je obidju s bilo kojeg kraja, dobivaju nova imena.

(8) I watch him... with his coat-tails, on either side of him, gently flapping to and fro.

(8SC) Promatram ga... a skutovi njegova kaputa na obje strane lagano lepršaju amo-tamo.

(9) Neither side had been inclined to go to extremes.

(9SC) Nijedna strana nije željela ići u skrajnosti.

(10) ... an addition, whether a second son or another daughter, will be... welcome in her family...

(10SC) ... prinova u njenoj obitelji bit će dobrodošla, bilo drugi sin, bilo još jedna kćerka...

(11) He became another man.

(11aSC) Postao je drugi čovjek.

(11bSC) Postao je nov čovjek.

(b) There are one or two items that require another D: half, double, same, own.

Half and double precede articles, possessives, genitives, and demonstratives.[10]

(12) No more than about half the original had been left intact.

(12SC) Ne više od oko polovice/pola prvotnih je ostalo na svom mjestu/neoštećeno/netaknuto.

(13) He lost half his property gambling.

(13SC) Izgubio je pola imovine na kocki.

(14) The Army... was allotted double the number of instructors.

(14SC) Armiji... je bio dodijeljen dvostruk broj instruktora.

(15) He was double her age.

(15SC) Bio je dvostruko stariji od nje.

Same occurs with the definite article and the demonstratives. After demonstratives it is emphatic.

(16) It's the same story all over.

(16SC) To je opet ista priča.

(17) Two great wars habituated the people of England to a rigorous discipline... But these same wars had other consequences.

(17SC) Dva teška/velika rata naviknula su engleski narod na strogi red. Ali su ta dva ista rata imala i drugih posljedica.

Own occurs with possessive, genitives, and whose.

(18) They did it in their own interest.

(18aSC) Učinili su to u svoju vlastitu korist /za svoje vlastito dobro.

(18bSC) Učinili su to za njihovo vlastito dobro.

(19) Their arms were strengthened by the power of St. Thomas, whose own murder in the cathedral...

(19SC) A ruke im je ojačala milost sv. Thomasa, čije vlastito ubijstvo u katedrali ...

(c) Items exhibiting different concord relation with the H do not occur together, e.g. both followed by each or every, etc. Both occurs with plural heads, each, every, etc. with singular heads.

(d) Items belonging to different areas of lexical meaning do not occur together, e.g. all or both followed by some or any. All indicates "totality, inclusion", both is "dual", some is "unspecified, partitive", and any indicates "indifference".[11]

1.3.2. In contrast with the above-mentioned restrictions, some of the Ds enjoy greater freedom of combination:-

(a) Such and many occur in two positions, and are therefore listed twice. They precede the indefinite article, but follow other Ds.[12]

(20) Such a pity.

(20SC) (Takva / kakva) šteta.

(21) We've stolen many a fat sheep.

(21aSC) Ukrali smo mnogu tustu/debelu ovcu/ mnoge tuste ovce.

(21bSC) Ukrali smo mnogo tustih ovaca.

(22) Any such fool can do that.

(22SC) Može to (učiniti) svaka budala.

(23) The many happy meetings we have had in the past.

(23SC) Oni mnogi radosni/sretni susreti što smo ih imali/ doživjeli u prošlosti.

(b) Two items from the same column do not normally occur together, but the possessive may precede every in somewhat literary style.

(24) They listen to his every word.

(24SC) Slušaju svaku njegovu riječ.

(c) Few, other, and such are regarded as Ds unless preceded by cardinal numerals or ordinal numerals, i.e. items operating at O. Thus (25, 26, and 27) have the structure D D E H, whereas (28, 29, and 30) have the structure D O O E H.

(25) A few intelligent candidates.

(26) Such a glorious day.

(27) All other silly jokes.

(28) The first few intelligent candidates.

(29) The three such glorious days.

(30) The two other silly jokes.

(d) Other is listed as a Class 3 item because it can be preceded by items of Class 2. Therefore, another is listed as Class 3 as it is a compound of a Class 2 item and a Class 3 item. Either and neither are listed as Class 3 because of the distributional similarity with other and another: they occur alone at D.

2.1. The majority of the indefinites (as well as a few other Ds) occur as exponents of the H in the NG. Most of them may be qualified by a prepositional group with of, or by a relative clause, and some of them may be modified. Of the indefinites, the following occur at H:-

(a) all, each, some, any, both, either, neither, other, another;

(b) everybody, everyone, everything; somebody, someone, something; anybody, anyone, anything; nobody, no-one, none, nothing;

(c) occasionally we, you, they; people, things; body (arch.) are

used as indefinites.

The indefinites listed at (a) occur both as Ds and as Hs; the compound indefinites listed at (b) are H-marked and occur at H only. The second elements of the compound indefinites can occur at H; of the items that are used as first elements only some and any can occur at H, but no and every require body, one or thing when (pro)nominalized.

When occurring at H, other is determined by a D and it may be considered a count noun with the appropriate range of form. For this purpose another may be considered as a variant of other.

(31) I have shown you one; now I'll show you another.

(31SC) Pokazao sam vam jednu, sad ću vam pokazati (jednu) drugu.

(32) He loved to set his brains against another's.

(32SC) Volio je suprotstaviti svoje mišljenje čijem drugom mišljenju.

(33) This is the only one; there is no other.

(33SC) Ovaj je jedini - ne postoji nikakav drugi.

(34) Show me some others, please.

(34SC) Pokažite mi, molim, (neke/koje/kakve) druge.

(35) Some poems are rather long. Others are very short.

(35SC) Neke pjesme su dosta/prilično duge. Druge su kratke.

(36, 37) One side does not recognize the other's ministry as valid... priests of the Roman Church refuse to pray or preach at others' services.

(36SC, 37SC) Jedna strana ne priznaje službu/bogoslužje druge... svećenici Rimske Crkve neće da mole ili propovijedaju dok drugi vrše službu.

2.1.1. When occurring at the H of the NG functioning as the subject (S) of a clause (K), the E indefinites exhibit number concord with the predicator (P) of the same K and/or the (relative) K qualifying them. The distribution of the indefinites into concord classes is essentially the same as that in 1.2., but with the following modifications: -

(a) Every and no do not occur at H.

(b) The class Singular comprises all items listed in 2.1.(b), except none and (occasionally) neither which have Singular/Plural concord.

Singular	each, either, another; everybody, everyone, everything, somebody, someone, something, anybody, anyone, anything, nobody, no-one, nothing.
Plural	both, others
Singular/Plural	other, none, neither
Plural/Mass	all
General (Singular/Plural/Mass)	some, any

(38) There are several trains and each has a dining-car.

(38SC) Postoji /imate/ vozi nekoliko vlakova i svaki ima vagon-restoran.

(39) Either is good.

(39SC) Oba su dobra.

(40) Here's another. Whose is it?

(40SC) Ovdje je još jedan. Čiji je taj?

(41) Everybody was spying on everybody else.

(41SC) Svatko je špijunirao svakog.

(42) If both prove incorrect...

(42SC) Ako se oba pokažu neispravna...

(43) Some are short, others are long.

(43SC) Neki/jedni su kratki, drugi su dugi.

(44) The other is new.

(44SC) Drugi je nov.

(45) The other are interesting.

(45SC) Drugi su zanimljivi.

(46) There was none she could tell her sorrow to.

(46SC) Nije bilo nikoga kome se mogla izjadati.

(47) None are so deaf as those that will not hear.

(47SC) Nitko nije toliko gluh kao oni koji neće da čuju.

(48) I tried both methods but neither was/were satisfactory.

(48SC) Kušao sam oba načina, ali nijedan nije zadovoljio.

(49) All's well that ends well.

(49SC) Sve je dobro što se dobro svrši.

(50) All who have studied this question...

(50SC) Svi koji su proučavali ovaj problem/ovo pitanje...

(51) I've just made tea. Want some?

(51SC) Upravo sam pripremio čaj. Bi li (čaja)?

(52) I should like to have some which are fresh.

(52SC) Volio bih neke koje su (još) svježe.

2.1.2. When occurring at the H of the NG operating as the intensive complement (the so-called subject complement) in the structure of a clause, the indefinite exhibits number concord with the S, like any other noun-headed NG.

(53) This is one and that's another.

(53SC) Ovo je jedan, a ono (je) drugi.

(54) It's nothing, just a scratch.

(54SC) Nije (to/mi) ništa, tek/samo ogrebotina.

(55) That's all there is to it.

(55SC) To je sva/cijela mudrost.

(56) These are all.

(56SC) To/ovo su svi.

2.2. The SC indefinites that occur at the H of the NG (for which see 0.2.) exhibit number concord with other elements of K structure.

There is concord between S and P.

(57SC) ... nešto mrda, pogledajmo šta.

(57) ... something's stirring, let's have a look.

(58SC) Neki to vole vruće.

(58) Some like it hot.

(59SC) Svaki ga znade i svako mu se divi.

(59) Everybody knows him and everybody admires him.

For concord between the indefinites when used as exponents of the intensive C, and the S of the K, cf. (53SC-56SC) above, but note that the neuter pronouns ovo/to/ono are neutral with reference to number concord, like it and that in E, e.g. It's him. It's them. That's him. That's them.

2.2.1. The simple forms tko, što, koji, čiji, kakav, and kolik are primarily used as interrogatives and relatives, but they also occur as indefinites.[13]

The indefinites tko and što may occur as exponents of S. Koji also occurs, but is often qualified.

The indefinites tko and koji (but not što) occur at S in questions requiring "Yes" or "No" as an answer.

(60SC) Da li je/Je li tko stigao?

(60) Has anyone arrived?

(61SC) Hoće li koji (od vas) da podje?

(61) Does any (of you) wish to go?

Tko, koji and što occur at S with the verbal form može, mogao bi, moglo bi 'might' with modal function.

(62SC) Može/Mogao bi tko doći; zato pripazi.

(62) Someone might come, therefore take care.

(63SC) Može/Moglo bi te što povrijediti.

(63) Something might hurt you.

Tko, koji and što occur as S of dependent Ks.

(64SC) Šef se ljuti ako tko zakasni.

(64) The boss is angry if anyone comes late.

(65SC) Javi mi kada ti što zatreba.

(65) Let me know if you need anything.

(66SC) Kako koji dodje, uvedite ga k meni.

(66) As they come, show them in turn to my office.

Tko, koji and što occur as exponents of C and of an A(adjunct) with or without preposition, in independent and dependent Ks. There is practically no limitation to their use in these functions.

(67SC) Jesi li koga vidio?

(67) Have you seen anyone?

(68SC) Da li si što učinio ?

(68) Have you done anything?

(69SC) Jesi li sreo koju od djevojaka?

(69) Have you met any of the girls?

(70SC) Gdje si vidio koga od njih?

(70) Where did you see any of them?

(71SC) Kada si što naučio?

(71) When did you learn anything?

(72SC) Da li je s kime bio?

(72) Did he have (any) company?

(73SC) Jesi li se čime okoristio?

(73) Did you take advantage of anything?

(74SC) Ako koga sretneš, pozovi ga.

(74) If you meet anyone, ask him to come.

2.2.2. In contrast to the simple forms, the compound indefinites when occurring as exponents of H are not limited in their use. Thus in all of the instances in the preceding section (60SC-74SC) the simple forms tko, koji and što can be replaced with the compound forms netko, neki and nešto respectively, with slight modification of meaning, to be discussed below in 4.1.
In addition, the compound forms can be used in cases where the simple forms do not occur, e.g. as exponents of S in independent Ks, such as illustrated in (57SC, 58SC) above.

3. As to their lexical connotation, the E indefinites can be ranged along the cline of totality as follows:

Total, whole	all, every, each; everybody, etc.
Part	some, any; somebody, etc., anybody, etc.
Two	both, either, neither; other, another
One	one
Zero	no, no one, none, nobody, nothing

3.1. All takes the members of the group collectively; every refers to the members of the group individually, but it still has a collective force; each refers to the members of the group

individually, but it has a strong distributive force. Every refers to a group which is often indefinite in number, but it is always more than two; each often refers to the members of a definite group one by one without adding them up.

Every connotes repetition when used before cardinal numerals followed by nouns in the plural, or before ordinal numerals followed by nouns.

(75) Elections take place every four years.

(75aSC) Izbori se održavaju svako/svake četiri godine.

(75bSC) Izbori se održavaju svake četvrte godine.

(76) It was marked at every tenth metre.

(76SC) Bilo je označeno svako 10 metara.

3.2. Some refers to what is assumed to be existing and is positive in meaning, especially in negative, interrogative and conditional contexts. Any is non-committal and it means 'no matter who, which or what kind'.

Some competes with the indefinite article and with one in certain of their uses. Some emphasizes the total indefiniteness of the notion. [14]

(77) I have read it in some book, can't remember the title.

(77SC) Čitao sam to u nekoj/nekakvoj knjizi, ali se ne mogu sjetiti naslova.

When used as a true adjective, some can mean "great", "excellent", often ironically.

(78) The American called Monty's plan a "pencil thrust". Forty divisions on a hundred-mile front a pencil? Some pencil.

(78SC) Amerikanci su Montyjev plan okrstili "ubodom olovke". Četrdeset divizija na frontu od sto kilometara pa olovka? Alal mu olovka.

In negative sentences some is less frequent than any. Its meaning is the usual one of 'an unknown or unspecified number, amount, person, or thing'.[15]

(79) He had not spared some of his best friends when he thought that they had erred.

(79SC) Nije poštedio (ni) neke od svojih najboljih prijatelja kada je mislio da griješe.

Any does not in itself particularize.[16]

(80) It was too dark for any (of them) to see the smoke.

(80SC) Bilo je (i) odviše tamno a da bi (bilo) tko (od njih) vidio dim.

In comparative sentences any means "any possible", "any imaginable".

(81) He is as hard-hearted as any tyrant.

(81SC) Ima tvrdo/kameno srce kao svaki (drugi) tiranin.

Some and any can be contrasted:

(82) He is younger than any of his colleagues.

(82aSC) Mladji je nego bilo koji /tko od njegovih kolega.

(82bSC) Mladji je od svih svojih kolega.

(83) He is younger than some of his colleagues.

(83SC) Mladji je od nekih svojih kolega.

3.3. Both, either and neither are dual in meaning: both and neither are inclusive, either is inclusive or alternative. Both refers to two singulars connected by and or to a plural with two units of equal rank as referents.

(84) Both trees were cut down.

(84SC) Posjekli su oba stabla.

(85) Both Mary and John are here.

(85SC) Ovdje su i Ivan i Marija.

Either and neither occur with two heads connected by or and nor respectively, with disjunctive value.

(86) These engineers cut boldly across country undaunted either by lowland forests or by difficult hills.

(86SC) Graditelji su smjelo povukli trasu ne plašeći se ni šumskog ni brdovitog terena.

(87) Neither the girls nor John is to blame.[17]

(87SC) Ni djevojke ni John nisu krivi.

Either has the alternative value of "the one or the other" in (7), and the inclusive value of "the one and the other" in (8), which are repeated here for convenience.

(7) Sea-fish cannot cross the Border, but when they pass round either end of it they change their names.

(8) I watch him... with his coat-tail, on either side of him, gently flapping to and fro.

Either and neither are used with inclusive value in negative contexts when they negate the second of the two alternatives. In this function they are in complementary distribution with too, which is usual in positive contexts. Nor competes with neither in this function.

(88) If you don't go, I shall not go either.

(88SC) Ako ti ne podješ, neću (poći) ni ja.

(89a) They can't be ignored. Neither should we underestimate them.

(89b) They can't be ignored. Nor should we underestimate them.

(89SC) Ne mogu se ignorirati, niti ih smijemo podcijeniti.

Other and another indicate difference, cf. (31-37).

Other, in combination with every, can be used in two senses.

It can imply repetition, meaning "alternate".

(90) I go there every other day.

(90SC) Odlazim tamo svaki drugi dan/svakog drugog dana.

In this sense other competes with second.

(91) Every second boy was told off for special duty.

(91SC) Svaki drugi dječak bio je odredjen za posebnu službu.

It can imply a fact, meaning "exclusive".

(92) Smith didn't come, but every other member did.

(92SC) Smith nije došao, ali svi drugi članovi jesu.

Each other and one another are used as reciprocal pronouns.

The former is usual when referring to two, the latter to more than two. Both can be used in the genitive.

(93) Mr. and Mrs. S. buy expensive presents for each other.

(93SC) Gosp. i gdja. S. kupuju skupe darove jedno drugom.

(94) Betty and Herbert didn't speak to one another on the Sunday.

(94SC) Betty and Herbert nisu te nedjelje/u nedjelju govorili jedno s drugim.

(95) Jutes, Angles, and Saxons could probably understand one another.

(95SC) Juti, Angli i Saksonci su vjerojatno razumjeli jedni druge.

(96) It is a point of honour that villagers shall attend each other's festivals.

(96SC) Seljani/seljaci smatraju časnom dužnošću da uzajamno prisustvuju svečanostima u drugim selima.

(97) The two little boys were lying in one another's arms.

(97SC) Ta dva dečka su ležala zagrljena/jedan drugom u zagrljaju.

3.4. No is used to negate the succeeding noun, but the negative concept may belong to the whole sentence.[18]

When no negates the noun only, not (a) expresses contrast.

(98a) She was no fool: narrow,jealous, provincial, she might be; but she was an acute and vigorous woman.

(98b) She was not a fool: narrow.....

(98SC) Ona nije bila glupa: možda uskogrudna, ljubomorna, provincijalka; ali je bila bistra i živahna (žena).

When the negative concept belongs to the same sentence, not can also be used to express the same content, and is practically synonymous with no.

(100a) The fortifications were manned by no troops worth the name.

(100b) The fortifications were not manned by troops worth the name.

(100SC) Fortifikacije/utvrdjenja nisu bila branjena trupama koje bi se mogle nazvati tim imenom.

4.1. The SC indefinites have two forms: simple and compound, cf. 0.2. The compound forms are true indefinites because (1)

they are used in this function only and (2) they occur freely in all appropriate contexts. The simple forms are used in other functions as well (as interrogatives and as relatives, cf. 2.2.1.) and are therefore restricted in their indefinite functions. A simple rule for the possibility of occurrence of simple forms can be roughly stated as follows:

> Simple forms can replace the compound forms after subordinating conjunctions, after modal verbs, and in some types of questions.

Examples of tko, što and koji were cited above in 2.2.1. (60SC--74SC); examples of čiji, kakav, and koliki follow.

(101SC) Kad su čiji putovi mili gospodu....

(101) When somebody's/(some) one's ways please the Lord...

(102SC) Ako te kakav čovjek upita za mene...

(102) If anyone should ask you about me...

(103SC) Je li koliki?

(103) Is he/it of any size?

For many speakers the difference in meaning between the simple forms and the compound forms is stylistic, rather than grammatical. In 60SC-74SC and 101SC-103SC, such speakers might use the appropriate compound forms, and would consider the simple forms as more or less archaic.[19]

In the usage of other speakers the simple forms have general, and the compound forms particular, reference. The simple forms are used when the referent is unknown, when the speaker is in no position to predict a referent or does not know if there is a referent at all. The compound forms are used when the referent is known to exist, though not defined.

The simple forms are primarily used as interrogatives; but when used in dependent questions, they have an indefinite connotation in accordance with their nature. The interrogative function is linked with two secondary functions: with the idea of reference to an (unknown) entity, and with lack of any identity. When the idea of interrogation is absent, the idea of reference (the relative function) or lack of identity (the indefinite function) comes to the fore. An interrogative particle, used non-indefinitely, becomes relative or indefinite.[20]

Both shifts, from interrogative to relative, and from interrogative to indefinite, occur in SC.

(104SC) Tko zna?
(104) Who knows?
(105SC) Neka kaže tko zna.
(105) Let him say so who knows.
(106SC) Kad bi sada tko znao reći...
(106) If (some) one could say now...
(107SC) Što se dogodilo?
(107) What happened?
(108SC) Reci što se dogodilo.
(108) Tell me/say what happened.
(109SC) Kad bi se sada što dogodilo...
(109) If anything/something should happen/occur now...

Tko is interrogative in (104SC), relative in (105SC) meaning "onaj tko", and indefinite in (106SC) meaning "netko", "tkogod", etc. Similarly with što: it is interrogative in (107SC), relative in (108SC), and indefinite in (109SC).

The shift from interrogative to relative occurs in E, but the shift from interrogative to indefinite also occurs marginally.

(110) I'll tell you what, Mrs. S., don't worry.

(110SC) Reći ću vam nešto, gdjo. S., ne brinite (ništa).

(111) Twelfth Night, or What You Will.

(111SC) Na Tri kralja, ili kako hoćete.

(112) ... and ornamented with a few glass whatnots.

(112SC) ... i ukrašen s nekoliko staklenih predmeta/stvarčica.

(113) Take which you will.

(113SC) Uzmi koju (god) hoćeš.

In interrogative, relative, and indefinite functions, tko is general and koji is selective. In E, parallel usage exists in the cases of the interrogative who and which, but not when they are used as relatives.

(114SC) Tko je stigao prvi?

(114) Who has come first?

(115SC) Koji (od njih) je stigao prvi?

(115) Which (of them) has come first?

(60SC) Da li je / Je li tko stigao?

(116SC) Da li je / Je li netko (od njih) stigao?

(60) Has anyone arrived?

(62SC) Mogao bi tko doći; zato pripazi.

(117SC) Mogao bi netko doći; zato pripazi.

(62) Someone might come, therefore take care.

(74SC) Ako koga sretneš, pozovi ga.

(118SC) Ako sretneš nekoga (od njih), pozovi ga.

(74) If you meet anyone, ask him to come.

4.2. According to their lexical connotations, the SC indefinites can be grouped into several sets indicating: -

Totality	svatko, svašta, svačiji, svaki, svakakav, svakolik;
Indifference	itko, išta, etc.;
Neutralness	netko, nešto, etc.; tkogod, štogod, etc.;
Distribution	tko god, što god, etc.; tko mu drago, etc.;
Negation	nitko, ništa, etc.

The following grammatical features are distinguished within each set: -

Person	tko, netko, etc.;
Thing	što, nešto, etc.;
Possession	čiji, nečiji, etc.;
Quality	kakav, nekakav, etc.;
Quantity	koliki, nekolik, etc.

4.3. When used with prepositions in negative contexts, the forms in ni- are discontinuous in Standard SC, with the preposition between the two constituent parts; but the construction with the preposition before the whole negative compound indefinite is gaining ground.

(119aSC) Neću te pitati ni za što.

(119bSC) Neću te pitati za ništa.

(119) I won't ask you about anything.

(120aSC) Ne brinem se ni o kome.

(120bSC) Ja se ne brinem o nikome.

(120) I don't care for anyone/anybody.

When the negation refers to the indefinite alone, and not to the whole sentence, the negative indefinite is not discontinuous. In such contexts the verb is negated separately, if required.[21]

(121SC) Kupio sam to za ništa.

(121) I bought it for nothing.

(122SC) Nisam to dobio za ništa, nego sam kupio.

(122) I didn't get it for nothing; I bought it.

After the preposition bez ("without") or the conjunctions nego ("but", "than") ni and niti ("nor") the forms in i- are used, thus avoiding double negation. However, the negative forms also occur.[22]

(123SC) Ostao je bez igdje ikoga.

(123) He was left without anyone (in the world).

(124SC) Siromašniji nego ikada.

(124) Poorer than ever.

(125SC) ... niti je ikuda/kuda išao.

(125) ... nor did he go anywhere.

5.1. Some of the E indefinites can have adverbial function, mostly in expressions of comparison.

All is used adverbially before adjectives, adverbs, comparatives and nouns.

(126) The back fit all right?

(126SC) Jesu li ledja u redu?

(127) I ache all over.

(127SC) Posvuda me boli.

(128) You'd be all the better for it.

(128SC) Bit će ti zato još bolje.

(129) He was all smiles.

(129SC) Sav se pretvorio u osmijeh.

Something is used adverbially in expressions of similarity and comparison.

(130) He is something like his father.

(130SC) On je nešto nalik na oca.

(131) This happened something more than a month ago.

(131SC) Ovo se dogodilo pred nešto više od mjesec dana.

Here somewhat is also used. In non-comparative adverbial constructions the use of something is sub-standard, but somewhat is impossible.

(132) The major used to suffer from rheumatism something terrible.

(132SC) Major je prije strašno trpio od reume/reumatizma.

Any is used adverbially before comparatives and before too. The indefinite anything can be used adverbially before like.

(133) He couldn't speak any more than I could.

(133SC) Nije mogao govoriti kao ni ja/ništa više od mene.

(134) Nor is he any worse for that.

(134SC) Niti mu je što gore od toga.

(135) I am not any too sure.

(135SC) Nisam baš odviše siguran.

(136) This sum is not anything like adequate.

(136SC) Ova svota ni najmanje ne odgovara.

Other can be used adverbially before than, but otherwise is the usual adverbial form.

(137) I never wrote other than I wished.

(137aSC) Nikada nisam pisao drukčije od onoga kako sam želio.

(137bSC) Nikada nisam pisao drugo nego (ono) što sam želio.

There is a possibility of misunderstanding in (137bSC) if drugo is taken to mean "other things".

No is used adverbially as the negation of the comparative, but the construction has emotional overtones. However, if the concept of emotional reaction is to be excluded and an objective comparison expressed, not is used in such constructions. The contrast of no and not is similar to that discussed in 3.4. above.

(138) No fewer than 142,000 houses were built last year.

(138SC) Lani je izgradjeno ne manje od 142.000 kuća.

(139) It was found that not more than 60,000 had subscribed.

(139SC) Vidjelo se da se nije pretplatilo više od 60.000 (ljudi).

No is used to negate the verb in the archaic or no, but in Present-day E or not is obligatory.

(140a) Whether we like it or no, we are involved.

(140b) Whether we like it or not, we are involved.

(140SC) Mi smo upleteni u to, (bez obzira) svidja li se to nama ili ne.

None occurs adverbially before the adverbial the plus comparative, before too or so plus adjective or adverb.

(141) ... it's a mild document, and none the worse for that.

(141SC) ... to je umjeren spis, ali/i zato ništa lošiji.

(142) It's none too soon.

(142SC) Nije to nimalo prerano.

(143) It's none so pleasant.

(143SC) Nije ni najmanje/ni izdaleka ugodno.

Nothing used adverbially survives in certain phrases, some of them archaic.

(144) Nothing doing here for you.

(144SC) Nema ovdje tebi mjesta.

(145) It's nothing so fast as it used to be.

(145SC) Nije ni izdaleka onako/onoliko brz kako je bio prije.

(146) He looked nothing the less sad.

(146SC) Nije izgledao (ništa) manje tužan.

5.2. The SC indefinites are occasionally used adverbially. A few forms in što and one or two forms of sav are used in this function.

(147SC) Da li mu je što bolje sada?

(147) Is he any better now?

(148SC) Čini mi se nešto prevelik.

(148) It seems to me a bit/somewhat too large.

(149SC) Nije on ništa bolji od tebe.

(149) He isn't any better than you.

(150SC) Svakim danom sve teže i teže.

(150) Worse and worse from day to day.

(151SC) Dolazio je k nama svako toliko.

(151) He used to visit us every now and then.

The SC indefinites when used adverbially occur in the neuter singular form. This is due to analogy with true adverbs of which many cannot be distinguished from the neuter singular adjective.

6.1. All, each, and both can occur in apposition to personal pronouns. When they refer to the S of a K, they often follow the first element of the P.

(152) We all know.

(152aSC) Svi mi znamo.

(152bSC) Mi svi znamo.

(152cSC) Mi znamo svi.

(153) Why should I waste it all on you?

(153SC) Zašto da sve to utrošim na tebe?

(154) They each had a clean story.

(154SC) Svako je od njih imao neoborivu priču.

(155) Mrs. R. and her husband are both fond of children.

(155SC) Gdja. R. i njen muž jednako vole djecu.

6.2. Of the SC indefinites, sav can be used in apposition to personal pronouns, cf. (152SC, 153SC).

6.3. The SC equivalent of the E correlative groups are correlated conjunctions: -

both....and	i....i/kako....tako (i)
either....or	ili....ili/bilo....bilo
neither....nor	ni....ni/niti....niti

7. Pedagogical implications

The majority of E indefinites occur both at M and at H; the SC indefinites are either H-marked or M-marked and occur in the respective positions, except sav and neki which are M-marked but occur in both positions.

When used at M, the E indefinites occur left-most in the NG, at D, before other modifying lexical words; in SC the word--order in the NG is fairly free, but the indefinite usually occurs before the H, with or without other intervening word or words.

There is a rigid ordering of items within D in E, with a few exceptions. The SC lexical equivalents of the respective E items enjoy some freedom of ordering, but the indefinites on the whole occur before other items.

The E indefinites can be grouped according to position, according to their concord relations, and according to their lexical connotations;

but while all of these should be taken into consideration, it is the positional classification which has much to recommend it because of its difference from SC.

The E indefinites which have no formal counterparts in the list of the SC indefinites (e. g. either, both, other, one) are the source of greatest interference.

As regards the E personal pronouns which are sometimes used indefinitely, attention should be given to the fact that the SC personal pronouns are not as a rule used indefinitely.

N O T E S

1. One and the compound indefinites with - one as the second element are discussed in a separate paper, V. Suzanić, "One, Its Forms and Uses", in R. Filipović (ed.), Reports 6, The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Zagreb 1972, 89-102.

   Indefinite adverbs containing any of the items from the list as their elements are not discussed.

   Any, either, no, some, several, etc. are treated by D. Maček, "Numeratives and Quantifiers in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), Reports 2, Zagreb 1970, 56-76.

2. The lists vary with different authors. Some of the differences are noted below:
   MEG adds same, certain;
   RWZ adds same, several, people, things;
   GS adds same, several, sundry;

CS add same, several, people, things;
FSS add several, sundry, various;
GOC adds several, enough, many, much, more, little, few, etc.
Others, including KS and BS, add much, many, little, few.

3. Indefinite adverbs are not listed.

Some of the combinations are not compounds in the technical sense, but instances of prefixation and suffixation, i. e. derivations by means of bound morphemes. However, the term "compound indefinites" is used here both of the compounds proper and of other combinations.

4. Cf. BHŽ, 84; TM, 198-201. The pronouns are cited in nominative singular masculine forms. "Allo"-forms are not discussed.

5. FSS, 76.

6. M. A. K. Halliday, "Descriptive Linguistics in Literary Studies", in Angus Mackintosh and M. A. K. Halliday: Patterns of Language, London 1966, 58.

7. Cf. FSS, 73

8. In the citation of instances, words which can be omitted are enclosed in parentheses, while alternative forms are separated by slashes.

9. The list is a conflation (with modifications) of the lists in FSS, 74-5; CS, 70-1; V. Suzanić, "The Nominal Group in English and Serbo-Croatian", in R. Filipović (ed.), Reports 1, Zagreb 1969, 60.

10. Half when occurring at D is indeclinable. When occurring at H, it is a noun with the appropriate range of forms. Cf. A. A. Hill, Introduction to Linguistic Structures, New York 1958, 176, note.

11. O. Jespersen applied a similar system of lexical notions as the basis for the classification of pronouns, cf. EEG, 16.7.

12. The combination many a followed by singular heads is considered archaic, and it alternates with many followed by plural heads.

13. Cf. TM, 506.

14. Cf. MEG VII, 17.61.

15. Cf. MEG VII, 17.65.

16. Cf. MEG VII, 17.53.

17. When the group with (n)either... (n)or occurs as S, the P often agrees in person and number with the nearest element of the S. Cf. GS, 315.

18. Cf. KS, 259-60.

19. Grammarians sometimes assert that the simple forms came to be used instead of the compound forms (italics mine, V.S.). Cf. A. Belić, O jezičkoj prirodi i jezičkom razvitku I, Beograd, 1958^{2} (1941^{1}), 33; TM, 506.

20. Cf. A. Belić, op. cit., 33.

21. Cf. TM, 198, 557-8.

22. Cf. TM, 558.

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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH AND CROATIAN

0. Introduction

0.1. This paper will consider the results of research on English and Croatian relative clauses, specially relating to contrastive analysis.

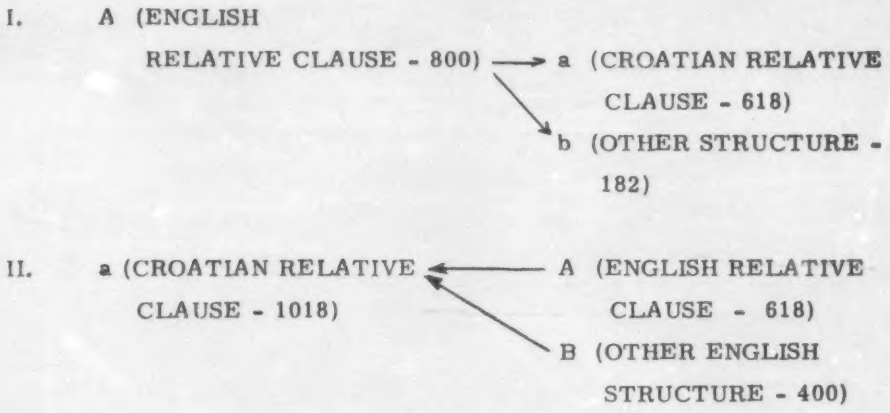
The relative clause in English and Croatian is defined on the basis of existing literature (see Bibliography I).

The translation method, in which a particular structure of one language is contrasted with all structures translating it of the second language, is used in our contrastive investigation.

The corpus of examples used in this research was taken from ten contemporary works by well-known American authors and their Croatian translations (see Bibliography II). From each original work 80 successive English relative clauses were taken with corresponding Croatian translations. Then, in the Croatian translation 40 additional relative clauses were taken which were not relative clauses in the English original but various other structures. This can be shown in the following way:

	ENGLISH (original) ----> 1200	CROATIAN (translation) 1200
I.	RELATIVE CLAUSE (800)	RELATIVE CLAUSE (618)
		CROATIAN (182) free translation
II.	ENGLISH non-relative STRUCTURE (400)	RELATIVE CLAUSE (400)

0.2. Thus, an original English relative clause can be translated into Croatian by a Croatian relative clause or by some other structure, and also a Croatian relative clause may translate a relative clause or some other structure:


I.
A (ENGLISH RELATIVE CLAUSE - 800)
a (CROATIAN RELATIVE CLAUSE - 618)
b (OTHER STRUCTURE - 182)
II.
a (CROATIAN RELATIVE CLAUSE - 1018)
A (ENGLISH RELATIVE CLAUSE - 618)
B (OTHER ENGLISH STRUCTURE - 400)

1. The relative clauses in this research have adjectival character and function as attributes, so they are attributive clauses (attributive adjective clauses, adjective clauses).

The antecedent is mostly a noun or a pronoun, but it may be a whole clause.

The relative pronouns linking the relative clause with the antecedent are in English who, whom, whose, which, that, ∅ (zero-relative) and in Croatian koji, tko, što, kakav, čiji, kolik.

The relative adverbs linking the relative clause with the antecedent are in English where, when, why, and in Croatian gdje (kamo, kuda, otkuda, odakle, dokle), kada (otkada, dokada), kako.

The subject of this research is not those subordinate clauses beginning with a relative pronoun or a relative adverb

but without an antecedent (subject, object, or predicate clauses), nor those attributive clauses which do not begin with relative pronouns or relative adverbs.

1.1. The classification of relative clauses

In this paper relative clauses are classified:

a) according to the strength of the link of the relative clause with the antecedent, i.e. whether the link is strong (restrictive clauses) or not (non-restrictive).

b) according to the form of the link of the relative clause with the antecedent, i.e. what linking words are used.

1.1.1. a) according to the strength of the link

1. restrictive (defining)

2. non-restrictive (non-defining)

1.1.1.1. Restrictive relative clauses

A restrictive relative clause is closely joined in thought to the word to which it refers, and gives information about it which is essential for understanding this word and the clause as a whole.

"The man who told me this refused to give me his name."

It is not possible to omit this relative clause because it would not be clear who the man in question is. In front of this clause there is no pause, and these clauses are not usually set off by a comma from the antecedent. The main clause makes a complete whole with such a dependent relative clause.

1.1.1.2. Non-restrictive (non-defining) relative clauses

A non-restrictive clause is not closely linked with its antecedent, i.e. it gives additional information about the

antecedent which is not essential for its understanding.

"Mary, with whom I drove home yesterday, has a Rolls Royce."

In this example the antecedent is well known and the relative clause only gives additional information about it. The relative clause could be omitted or written as a separate sentence, e.g.: "Mary has a Rolls Royce. Yesterday I drove home with Mary."

Although the antecedent of non-restrictive relative clauses is usually a word (one or more), it may be a whole clause, e.g.: "He is on the telephone, which makes it difficult to get in touch with him." In this case, instead of which, and this (i to) may be used.

Non-restrictive relative clauses begin with a lower tone; in front of them there may be a pause in speech; they are usually divided by a comma from the antecedent. It may be said that the main clause with its dependent non-restrictive relative clause forms two utterances. Non-restrictive relative clauses are much more independent than restrictive, in some cases they are close to co-ordinate, and then they tell what follows the main clause. In this case the antecedent is a whole main clause, but it may also be one word, e.g.: "As I had lost John's new address, I wrote to his father, who (and he) will, presumably, let me know where John is living."

Non-restrictive relative clauses are used much more often in written language, while in spoken language two separate sentences are more often used.

The classification of relative clauses in Croatian according to the strength of the link is the same as in English, and in general a Croatian restrictive corresponds to an English

restrictive and a non-restrictive to a non-restrictive. However, this classification will not be used in this research because some translators used logical punctuation and some grammatical, so that the comma may not mark the distinction between these two types of clauses.

2.1. English relative clauses classified according to the form of the link

1. with the relative pronouns who and which
2. with the relative pronoun that
3. with zero-relative
4. with the relative adverbs where, when, why
5. with as and but (not treated)

2.1.1. Relative clauses with who and which

Who is used with antecedents that are human, i.e. that are referred to by he or she (names of persons or sometimes animals), and which is used when the antecedent is a thing or an animal referred to by the neuter pronouns, i.e. non-human, or a whole preceding statement.

The relative clause may be restrictive or non-restrictive when the antecedent is a word; when it refers to the whole preceding statement it is non-restrictive, e.g.:

The man who robbed you is called Sykes.
Tom, who is incurably romantic, has just got...
The car which I hired broke down after five miles.
His old car, which breaks down every few miles, is dearer to him than his wife.
The policeman said I wasn't allowed to park my car outside my house, which I considered most unreasonable.

These pronouns have the following cases:

for persons (H)		for things and animals (NH)
Subject (nominative)	who	which
Object (accusative)	who (m)	which
(with preposition)	to who (m)	to which
Possessive(genitive)	whose	of which, whose

Examples:

a) The relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause (nominative):

The girls who serve in the shop are...

b) The relative pronoun is the object (accusative):

The man who(m) I saw was called Smith.

(Whom is considered formal and who colloquial).

c) With the preposition (in formal speech in front of the pronoun, in non-formal at the end of the relative clause):

The man from whom I bought it told me...

The man who(m) I bought it from told me...

d) Possessive form:

People whose rents have been raised can appeal.

2.1.2. Relative clauses with that

The relative that is used only in restrictive clauses, without regard to whether the antecedent is human or non-human, i.e. masculine, feminine or neuter, or whether it is in singular or plural. That does not change according to cases but it cannot be used in the possessive case. If there is a preposition with that then the preposition must come at the end of the clause.

When the relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause, that is not used so often as who.

When the relative pronoun is the object of the relative clause, then, in spoken language, that is more often used than who(m).

Generally speaking, the more definite the antecedent the more likely is the use of the pronoun who.

All who/that heard him were delighted with him.
He was the best king who/that ever sat...
The man that I bought it from...
The man that I saw...
I need someone that/who can do the work.
The aunt who came to see us last week is my father's sister.

When the antecedent is NH then the choice of the relative pronoun is more a matter of individual taste. However, there are cases when that is more often used than which, and these are: when the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun (all, etc.), when the antecedent is determined by a superlative or by the words all, much, little, few, only, first, etc.

This is the picture which/that caused...
The car which/that I hired...
... has promised to do all that lies...
All the apples that fall...
The first statement that...
This is the best hotel that I know.

2.1.3. Zero-relative

These relative clauses are closely linked with the

antecedent and are always restrictive. They are very often used in spoken English, and especially when the pronoun would be the object, e.g.:

The book Ø I want is on the table.

If the pronoun would have been the subject, this structure is used only in those cases in which the situation makes the thought clear - the main or the dependent clause is introduced by there is/was, e.g.:

There is a man at the door Ø wants to see you.

The preposition always comes at the end of the relative clause, e.g.:

The man Ø I bought it from told me to oil it.

2.1.4. Relative clauses with relative adverbs

In relative clauses, instead of relative pronouns, relative adverbs where, when, why may be used and are very often used when the antecedent expresses time, place, reason. Relative adverbs are used here instead of preposition+which, and are used in restrictive or non-restrictive relative clauses, e.g.:

...the year when (in which) he died.

...the day when (on which) she arrived.

...the house where (in which) he lived.

Finland, where he spends his holidays, has lots of lakes.

Why, as a relative adverb, introduces only restrictive clauses, e.g.:

The reason why (for which) he came is not very convincing.

Relative adverbs are often omitted in these relative clauses and this results in zero relatives, e.g.:

This is the place Ø we met yesterday.

... the day Ø I visited him.

That is the reason Ø I did it.

These relative clauses have certain adverbial characteristics.

2.2. Sentences with introductory IT and a relative clause (IT is/was + antecedent + relative clause)

These clauses are characteristic for English. They are used to give special emphasis to part of the sentence; thus instead of "Tom paid" we may say "It was Tom who paid."

In these clauses the relative pronouns who, which, that or zero-relative (no linking word) are used.

The classification of relative clauses treated here may be shown in the following way:

I. 1. Restrictive
   2. Non-restrictive

II. a. who, whose, whom, which
    b. that
    c. Ø
    d. Relative adverb

III. It is / was + antec. + Rel. Cl.

3.1. Croatian relative clauses classified according to the form of the link

1. with the relative pronoun koji
2. with the relative pronoun što
3. with the relative pronoun čiji
4. with the relative pronoun tko
5. with the relative pronouns and adverbs for quality and quantity: kakav, kolik, koliko(adverb)

6. with the relative adverb or adverbial phrase kako, kao što
7. with the relative adverbs gdje, kamo, kuda, kada, etc.

3.1.1. Relative clauses with koji

The relative pronoun koji has besides the case-forms kojeg, kojem also shortened forms kog(a), kom(e) (which are in form the same as for the relative pronoun tko).

3.1.2. Relative clauses with što

When the relative što relates to the neuter gender of the pronouns ovo, to, ono, sve and to a whole clause, it changes (declines) for case.

The changeable što (and not koji), according to examples in this research, is used after an antecedent which is an indefinite pronoun with što or šta, e.g.: nešto, ništa, išta, svašta, etc. (...bar ništa što bi bilo tko bio voljan... ME PO p. 12).

The relative što may be used instead of the relative koji in the nominative (this što does not change). If što is used in other cases, it takes the necessary case-form of the personal pronoun of the third person, e.g.: ...pismo, što si ga jučer napisao. The preposition comes in front of the form of the pronoun, e.g.: čovjek što smo došli s njime. The accusative and the instrumental case may be omitted if što refers to a thing, e.g.: ... ono vino, što kod tebe popismo.

3.1.3. Relative clauses with čiji

Čiji inflects like koji, and it may be used instead of the possessive genitive or dative of koji. Today it is used in spoken and written language to refer to an antecedent noun of any gender

and number.

3.1.4. Relative clauses with tko

According to the examples from the corpus, this pronoun, and not koji, is used when the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun with tko (netko, nitko, itko, svatko, etc), e.g.: I svatko tko je još dovoljno mlad razočara se... (ME PO p. 7).

3.1.5. Relative clauses with kakav, kolik

Kakav is used to express quality and kolik for quantity, e.g.: "Dobili smo roman, kakav se rijetko može naći."

3.1.6. Relative clauses with kako, kao što

These clauses are used to define the manner expressed by some word or group of words in the main clause which stands as a correlative to the relative adverb, e.g.: ... postupit ćeš na onaj način kako ti bude najzgodnije...

3.1.7. Relative clauses with relative adverbs (place, time) gdje, kada, kuda, etc.

In these clauses relative pronouns may be used, instead of relative adverbs, e.g.: ... u onu školu gdje (u kojoj) će se...

4. The analysis of the English original corpus of examples of relative clauses

This corpus of examples consists of 800 relative clauses of American English (numerical data are in Table I).

4.1. In the English corpus there are 661 (82.62%) restrictive clauses and 88 (11%) non-restrictive clauses introduced by

relative pronouns or zero-relatives in which the antecedent is a word. This may be seen in the following table.

Table I. 1. who, which, whose, that, Ø in restrictive (R) and non-restrictive (NR) relative clauses

	WHO	WHICH	WHOSE	THAT	Ø	Total
R	146 18,25%	93 11,62%	11 1,38%	205 25,62%	206 25,75%	661 82,62%
NR	57 7,12%	23 2,88%	8 1%	-	-	88 11%

4.2. Non-restrictive relative clauses

Table I.2. who, which in non-restrictive relative clauses as subject, object, and prepositional object

	WHO(M)	WHICH
	57 7,12%	23 2,88%
S	50 /6,25%/	16 /2%/
O	7 /0,88%/ p=6	7 /0,88%/ p=2

In these clauses there is no difficulty in selecting a relative pronoun because, as was said, if the antecedent is human we use the relative pronoun who(m), and if the antecedent is

non-human which.

Examples:

Lucas, who had been watching the dog run off,.../THNO p. 19/ ...with Sylvester's father, whom she knew from the old people's arbour in the park. /BEAD p. 19/

...except his eyes, which were quiet,.../MANA p. 17/

..., in the Carmine, which Masaccio had left uncompleted,.. /STAG p. 8/

4.3. Restrictive relative clauses

Table I.3. restrictive relative clauses with who, which, that, Ø and the possibility of selecting the most frequent structure

	1			2		
	S 147			O 35 (p=10)		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
I a = H 182	WHO 138 17.25%	THAT 6 0.74%	Ø 3 0.38%	Ø 24(p=3) 3%	WHOM 8(p=6) 1%	THAT 3(p=1) 0.38%
II a = NH 430	5.75% 46 WHICH	19% 152 THAT	0.12% 1 Ø	17.5% 140(p=9) Ø	5.86% 47 (p=36) WHICH	5.5% 44 (p=2) THAT
	a	b	c	a	b	c
	199 S			231 (p=47) 0		
	1			2		

Taking into consideration data from Table I. 3. the following rules may be set up for using relative pronouns in restrictive relative clauses:

I. a=H
1. RP=S -----> WHO(138), THAT(6), Ø(3)
2. RP=O -----> Ø (21), WHOM(2), THAT(2)
3. RP=pO-----> WHOM(6), Ø(3), THAT(1)

II. a=NH
1. RP=S -----> THAT(152), WHICH(46), Ø(1)
2. RP=O -----> Ø(131), THAT(42), WHICH(11)
3. RP=pO ----> WHICH(36), Ø(9), THAT(2)

In brackets is the number of examples with each. Zero-relative(Ø) is the most frequent structure when the pronoun would be the object, but with prepositions who and which are more frequent. That is also very often used when the pronoun is the subject of a relative clause whose antecedent is NH.

Examples:

(I. 1.) You are the prettiest girl who has come up here... (SHYU p. 12)
(I. 2.) To a girl I met in Boston. (MERE p. 25)
(I. 3.) ... young man whom she had smiled at ... (SHYU p. 16)
(I. 3.) There ain't a worse man Ø you could be under... (MANA p. 21)
(II. 1.) ... articles that sold for less than... (THNO p. 25)
(II. 1.) ... a little town which was not far... (STEA p. 10)
(II. 2.) ... the sum Ø they had paid,... (THNO p. 31)
(II. 2.) ... the great fish that he had hooked, (HEOL p. 46)
(II. 3.) ... a subject on which both knew the other's views. (THNO p. 21)
(II. 3.) The sound Ø he was waiting for... (THNO p. 7.)

In cases I. 1. and I. 3. the relative pronouns who and whom are not used when the writer wants to suggest colloquial speech. According to examples it is more difficult to make rules when the antecedent is NH.

These rules may be used in teaching English and the following exercises may be composed:

čovjek kojeg sam vidio --- the man Ø I saw

čovjek s kojim sam došao --- the man (with) whom I came (with)

knjiga koja je ovdje --- the book that (which) is here

knjiga koju sam kupio --- the book Ø I bought

knjiga u kojoj sam to čitao --- the book (in) which I read it (in).

Table I. 4. relative clauses introduced by whose, which (antecedent is a clause), and relative adverbs where, when, why

	WHOSE	WHICH	REL. ADV.	where	when	why
a=H	13	-	-	-	-	-
a=NH	6	-	48	36	9	3
a= clause	-	3	-	-	-	-

Relative clauses with whose may be restrictive and non-restrictive.

Table I. 5. relative clauses with whose, restrictive and non-restrictive

W H O S E (19)

	R	NR
a= H (13)	5	8
a= NH (6)	6	-

Examples:

... to the girl whose arm he held, ... (MERE p. 12)

... Dr Wernick, whose compact forearms could have held off a bear, ... (BEAD p. 12)

... in a simple world whose rules were things ... (THNO p. 22)

which (antecedent is a clause)

... that Madrid had been shelled twelve times at the turn of the year, which conveniently for the readers of the Times, came several hours earlier to Madrid ... (SHYU p. 25)

Relative clauses with where, when, why

The antecedents of these clauses are the following words:

where (place):

place (5), town (3), city (2), fish house, company, bank, bow, house, icehouse, stores, general stores, benches, missions, part of the ocean, etc.

when (time):

day (3), moment (3), night (2), morning.

why:

reason (3)

Examples:

I went down to the cellar where the storm windows and the tools were, ... (BEAD p. 26)

... he anticipated the moment when he would hand the florins to his father. (STAG p. 23)

... the reason why he had come ... (JOFR p. 20)

In the corpus there are 38 relative clauses with zero--relative (Ø) which are adverbial adjuncts. The antecedents are the following words:

way (22)

time (10)

day (3)

year (2)

minute (1)

The way Ø you people figure, ... (SHYU p. 19)

In the year Ø Lucas Marsh was conceived... (THNO p. 9)

The following rule may be set up for this group of examples:

a=way, time (day, etc.) --------> RP=Ø

That means if the antecedent is the word way (meaning manner), or words denoting time such as time, day, year, minute, etc., a relative clause with zero-relative (that is, Ø) is very often used.

4.4. Relative clauses with introductory IT

In the English corpus there are 42 such clauses.

Table I. 6. relative clauses with introductory IT

		a=H (16)		a=NH (26)			
	WHO	THAT	Ø	WHICH	THAT	Ø	WHERE
S (31)	12	2	1	3	13	-	-
O (11)	-	-	1	-	1	8	1
Total	12	2	2	3	14	8	1

Examples:

(1) It was the little boys who really caught it. (STEA p. 14)

(2) It is he that has the hook in his mouth. (HEOL p. 44)

(3) It was papa Ø made me leave. (HEOL p. 6)

(4) It was a society boy Ø she had known since she was a kid. (JOFR p. 25)

(5) But it was the margin of chance which existed in poker. (MANA p. 14)

(6) ... it's my own memories that haunt this house. (MERE p. 29)

(7) It is a thing Ø you should do. (STAG p. 12)

The following rules may be set up:

I. a=H
1. RP=S ----------> WHO (12), THAT (2), Ø (1)
2. RP=O ----------> Ø (1)

II. a=NH
1. RP=S ----------> THAT (13), WHICH (3)
2. RP=O ----------> Ø (8), THAT (1)

5. The analysis of the Croatian translated corpus of examples of relative clauses

In this corpus there are 1018 Croatian relative clauses (618 of these from the First Corpus of examples are relative clauses in English too, Table II; and 400 from the Second Corpus are various structures in English, i.e. they are not relative clauses, Table III).

Table IV. Relative clauses in Croatian

	Rel. Pr.	Table II (relative in Eng.)	Table III (non-relative in Eng.)	Table II+ III	%
1.	koji	437	291	728	72
2.	što	108	99	207	20
3.	tko	9	-	9	0,9
4.	čiji	10	3	13	1,3
5.	kakav	5	5	10	1
6.	koliko	2	-	2	0,2
7.	gdje	23	1	24	2,3
8.	kada	18	1	19	1,9
9.	kako	4	-	4	0,3
10.	dok	2	-	2	0,2

Table IV. 1. the antecedent of koji and što

koji (728)	H-290 NH-438
što (207)	H-15 NH-189 cl. -3

Table IV. 2. koji and što after antecedents

	koji	što
a=H	290	15
a=NH	438	189

The most frequent relative clauses in Croatian are the clauses introduced by the relative pronouns koji and što (more than 92% of the examples).

The relative pronoun koji is used in relative clauses when the antecedent is a human (animal) or a thing, while the relative pronoun što is used sometimes when the antecedent is a thing, always when it is a clause, and very seldom when the antecedent is human (or animal). H in Tables IV. 1 and IV. 2 means that the antecedent is human (or animal), and NH means that the antecedent is a thing.

There are two types of the relative pronoun što.

1. Unchangeable što (about 150 examples) may be

used instead of relative koji; this is most frequent when the antecedent is a thing. In oblique cases this što takes the necessary form of the third-person pronoun.

Stariji ljudi što (koji) su se zimi okupljali... (MEPO p. 8)
... valjanje broda, što ga je (kojeg je) dolje u postelji osjećao... (MAGO p. 15)

2. Changeable što (about 60 examples) is used when the antecedent is:

a/ the neuter gender of the pronouns ovo, to, ono, sve;
b/ a whole clause
c/ indefinite pronoun (with što, šta), e. g. nešto, ništa, išta, koješta, etc.
d/ the word jedino

Sve, što se danas vidi na površini,... (HEST p. 307)
... i s voljom natjecatelja da nadbije ostale, što dovodi do uspjeha na svijetu. (STIE p. 28)
Postoji nešto, što je želio,... (MAGO p. 11)

Jedino što je vidio i čega se mogao sjetiti... (JOOD p. 25)

The relative pronoun tko is used if the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun (with tko), e. g. netko, nitko, itko, svatko, etc.

I svatko tko je još dovoljno mlad razočara se... (MEPO p. 8)

The relative pronoun čiji is used as a possessive relative pronoun.

... iza drveća, čije je lišće bilo uvijek pokriveno... (JOOD p. 24)

The relative pronouns kakav, kolik and the adverb koliko are used for expressing quality and quantity.

... bijeg, kakvim je trčao od jedne doktorove ordinacije do druge. (THNE p. 21)

... dva zlatna florina, koliko će iznositi njegova prva plaća. (STAG p. 24)

The relative adverb gdje is used in relative clauses when the antecedent is a word denoting place.

Pošao sam u podrum, gdje su ležali prozorski kapci... (BEDO p. 25)

The relative adverb kad(a) is used in relative clauses when the antecedent is a word denoting time.

... trenutak kad će predati ocu dva florina. (STAG p. 25)

The adverb and adverbial phrase kako, kao što are used for defining manner.

... na način kako on zamišlja trubljenje,... (JOOD p. 23)

Also those clauses introduced by the word dok can be considered as relative clauses of a special type, for expressing time.

... iz godina, dok se potezao naokolo,... (MAGO p. 18)

All this may be shown in the following way:

1. a=Animate -------> KOJI (290), ŠTO (15)
2. a=Inanimate ------>KOJI (438), ŠTO (189)
3. a= { ovo, to, ono. sve / clause / nešto, ništa, etc. / jedino (non-living) } --------> ŠTO
4. a=netko, nitko, etc. ----------> TKO
5. possessive ----------> ČIJI
6. a=place ----------> GDJE (KOJI)
7. a=time ----------> KAD(A) - (KOJI)
8. KAKAV, KOLIK, KOLIKO for quality and quantity
9. KAKO, KAO ŠTO for manner
10. DOK for time

6. Contrastive analysis of the First Corpus of examples

This corpus consists of 800 original English relative clauses and 800 corresponding Croatian translations (618 relative clauses and 182 other various linguistic structures, which will be marked Sl. Pr., that is "slobodni prijevod" = free translation.) This may be shown in the following way:

The data about contrasted structures are in Table II. Especially interesting are those structures that are very frequent in both languages.

Table II. 1. (the most frequent structures)

	KOJI(420)	ŠTO(105)	Sl. Pr. (164)
WHO (203)	157 (77. 8%)	3 (1. 48%)	37 (18. 2%)
WHICH (116)	70 (60. 3%)	13 (11. 2%)	28 (24%)
THAT (205)	101 (49. 3%)	40 (19. 5%)	58 (28. 3%)
Ø (206)	91 (44. 2%)	49 (23. 8%)	48 (23. 3%)

From the data in the Table it may be concluded that the more colloquial the English structure is (use of that and Ø) the smaller is the percentage of Croatian structures introduced by koji, and the larger is the percentage of relative clauses introduced by što and free translations (Sl. Pr.). The

relative pronoun who is, for example, translated with što in 1.48% of examples, and zero relative (Ø) is translated with što in 23.8% of examples.

On the basis of this relative clauses with koji seem to be more formal than relative clauses with što.

The greatest number of English relative clauses are translated into Croatian by relative clauses introduced by the relative pronoun koji, then by što; the number of free translations is fairly large, while other structures are used very seldom. This may be seen from the following:

ENGLISH (original)	CROATIAN (translation)
Relative clause ---------->	Relative clause (koji)-437(54.62%)
Relative clause ---------->	Relative clause (što)-108(13.5%)
Relative clause ---------->	Relative clause 73(8.63%) (other structures)
Relative clause ---------->	Sl. Pr. (free translation)-182 (23.25%)

6.1. Contrastive analysis of English and Croatian relative clauses

6.1.1. Starting from English relative clauses

In 618 examples there is the same structure, i.e. relative clause, in both languages. Going through Table II we get the following data (the first number marks the type of the English relative clause and the second number the Croatian relative clause in Table II); free translations are analysed separately:

1.1. who ----------> koji (158)
1.2. who ----------> što (3)
1.3. who ----------> tko (5)
1.11. who ----------> Sl. Pr. (37)

Examples:

(1) A man who can accept it is not a worse man always, ... (STEA 72 p. 21)

Čovjek koji se može s tim pomiriti, ne ide uvijek u klasu gorih ljudi, ... (STIS 72 p. 34)

(2) This time the soldier who had complained made no answer at all, ... (MANA 39 p. 15)

Ovaj put vojnik, što se bio potužio, ne odgovori uopće ništa, ... (MAGO 39 p. 15)

(3) And everyone who is still young enough is disappointed ... (MERE 1 p. 5)

I svatko tko je još dovoljno mlad razočara se... (MEPO 1 p. 7)

When the antecedent is an independent pronoun denoting something living then in Croatian the relative clause is introduced by the relative pronoun tko. This may be shown in the following way:

who ----------> tko

(a-anyone, anybody, someone, etc.) (a-itko, netko, etc.)

2.1. which ----------> koji (70)

2.2. which ----------> što (13)

2.5. which ----------> kakav (1)

2.6. which ----------> koliko (1)

2.7. which ----------> gdje (1)

2.8. which ----------> kada (1)

2.9. which ----------> kako (1)

2.11. which ----------> Sl. Pr. (28)

(1) ... in exchange for things which were sent them. (THNO 61 p. 31)
... u zamjenu za stvari, koje su mu bile poslane. (THNE 61 p. 32)

(2) There seemed an aureole about the ship which extended fifty yards from the side, ... (MANA 50 p. 18)
Izgledalo je da je oko broda neki aureol, što ga opasuje na oko pedeset jarda od boka, ... (MAGO 50 p. 18)

3. 2. which (a=clause) ----------> što (3)

(1) ... and the competitor's will to win over others, which makes for success in the world. (STEA 55 p. 16)
... i s voljom natjecatelja da nadbije ostale, što dovodi do uspjeha na svijetu. (STIS 55 p. 28)

4. 1. whose ----------> koji (5)

4. 4. whose ----------> čiji (9)

4. 11. whose ----------> Sl. Pr. (5)

(1) ... said Ted Carter to the girl whose arm he held, ... (MERE 34 p. 12)
... reče Ted Carter ženi koju je držao za ruku. (MEPO 34 p. 13)

The relative pronoun čiji may be used in all the above examples instead of the relative pronoun koji (ženi čiju je ruku držao).

5. 1. that ----------> koji (101)

5. 2. that ----------> što (40)

5. 3. that ----------> tko (1)

5. 5. that ----------> kakav (2)

5. 7. that ----------> gdje (2)

5. 8. that ----------> kad (1)

5. 11. that ----------> Sl. Pr. (58)

(1) ... the young boys that came five thousand miles... (SHYU 70 p. 40)
... mladići, koji su prevalili pet hiljada milja, ... (SHML 70 p. 40)

(2) ... and the silent pleasures that lay at the back of the tunnelled eyes ... (STEA 58 p. 16)

... i tihim radostima što se kriju u pozadini očnih rovova. (STIS 58 p. 29)

6. 1. Ø ----------> koji (91)
6. 2. Ø ----------> što (49)
6. 3. Ø ----------> tko (3)
6. 4. Ø ----------> čiji (1)
6. 5. Ø ----------> kakav (2)
6. 6. Ø ----------> koliko (1)
6. 7. Ø ----------> kad (8)
6. 9. Ø ----------> kako (3)
6. 10. Ø ----------> dok (1)
6. 11. Ø ----------> Sl. Pr. (47)

(1) ... about the family Ø she was protecting, ... (BEAD 58 p. 20)

... o obitelji koju mora zaštićivati. (BEDE 58 p. 20)

(2) The clothes Ø he bought were put back. (THNO 57 p. 29)

Odjeća koju je kupio, vraćena je. (THNE 57 p. 30)

(3) He feared the day Ø he would be taken... (STEA 67 p. 18)

Strahovao je pred danom kad ga uzmu u vojsku... (STIS 67 p. 30)

7. 1. where ----------> koji (12)

(1) From the cellar where he was hidden he saw... (BEAD 43 p. 17)

Iz podruma u kojem se je skrivao gledao je ... (BEDO 43 p. 17)

In all these clauses gdje may be used instead of koji.

7. 7. where ----------> gdje (20)

(1) ... he would need a good little nook where he could leave the mash. (MANA 15 p. 11)

... kakav zgodan kutić, gdje može ostaviti kominu. (MAGO 15 p. 10)

7. 8. when ----------> kad(a) (8)

(1) The month when the great fish come, . . . (HEOL 72 p. 14)

U mjesecu kada dolaze velike ribe, . . (HEST 72 p. 296)

7. 10. when ----------> dok (1)

(1) There was a single hesitating moment when his cheek was next to hers, . . . (SHYU 55 p. 28)

. . . kratak trenutak oklijevanja, dok je njegov obraz bio uz njen; . . . (SHML 55 p. 22)

6. 1. 2. Starting from Croatian relative clauses

The starting point is translated Croatian relative clauses (Table II-618 relative clauses in English and Croatian). This part is interesting for students of English because it shows possible structures and the most frequent uses in English.

1. 1. koji ----------> who(158):(R-114; NR-44)
1. 2. koji ----------> which (70):(R-55; NR-15)
1. 4. koji ----------> whose (5):(H)
1. 5. koji ----------> that(101):(NH-106; H-5)
1. 6. koji ----------> Ø (91):(NH-74; H-17)
1. 7. koji ----------> where (12)

Table II. 2. Croatian relative clauses introduced by koji and corresponding English relative clauses with the possibility of choosing the most frequent structure

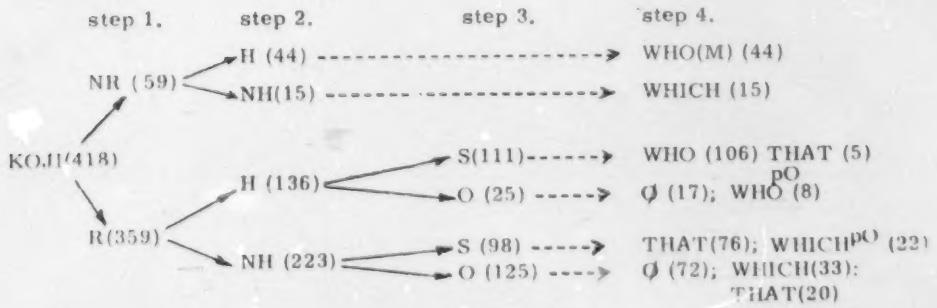


Table II. 3.(the use of whose and where for čiji and gdje which are used instead of koji)

KOJI	(čiji) ----------→	WHOSE
	(gdje) ----------→	WHERE

Additional rules for the use of relative pronouns at definite levels of speech (formal and colloquial speech)

1. Formal speech (least colloquial)	WHO(M) for H; WHICH for NH
2. Less formal speech (more colloquial)	THAT for H+NH
3. Least formal speech (most colloquial)	Ø for H+NH
Relative pronoun with preposition	WHO for H; WHICH for NH

Taking into consideration the additional rules for the level of speech, it is possible to choose the most frequent relative pronoun for the relative clause in English according to Table II. 2. For example, to translate the following sentence into English:

Odjeća koju je kupio, vraćena je. (THNE 57 p. 30.)

step 1: R(the clause is restrictive)

step 2: NH(the antecedent is non-human)

step 3: O(the relative pronoun is the object of the clause)

step 4: Ø(the link is zero-relative)

These steps show that the most frequent structure is Ø, and so we may translate:

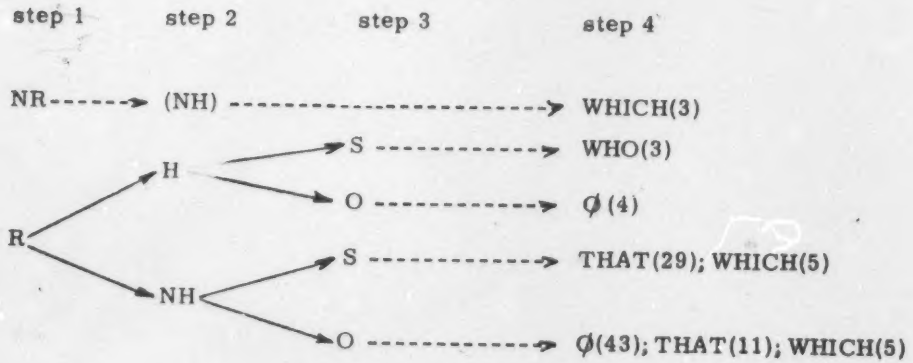
The clothes Ø he bought were put back. (THNO 57 p. 29)

The same relative clause, taking into consideration the additional rules, may be translated into more formal speech:

The clothes that/which he bought...

2.1. što ----------> who (3; R)
2.2. što ----------> which (13; R-10; NR-3)
2.3. što ----------> which (3; a-clause)
2.5. što ----------> that (40)
2.6. što ----------> Ø (48)

Table II.4. Croatian relative clauses introduced by što and corresponding English relative clauses with the possibility of choosing the most frequent structure



Additional rules for the level of speech may be used here too.

3.1. tko ----------> who (5; R)
3.5. tko ----------> that (1; H)
3.6. tko ----------> Ø (3; H)

TKO
- S ----------> WHO (5)
- O ----------> ∅ (3), THAT (1)

4.4. čiji ----------> whose (9)

čiji ----------> ∅ (1) (change in construction)

ČIJI ----------> WHOSE (9)

5.2. kakav ----------> which (1)

5.5. kakav ----------> that (2)

5.6. kakav ----------> ∅ (2)

KAKAV
- S ----------> WHICH, (THAT)
- O ----------> ∅, (THAT)

6.2. koliko ----------> which (1)

6.6. koliko ----------> ∅ (1)

KOLIKO
- S ----------> WHICH
- O ----------> ∅

7.2. gdje ----------> which (1)

7.5. gdje ----------> that (2)

7.7. gdje ----------> where (20)

GDJE ----------> WHERE (that, which)

8.2. kad ----------> which (1)

8.5. kad ----------> that (1)

8.6. kad ----------> ∅ (8)

8.7. kad ----------> when (8)

KAD
- ----------> WHEN (8)
- ----------> ∅ (8) ; (that, which)

9.2. kako ----------> which (1)

9.6. kako ----------> Ø (3)

KAKO ----------> Ø (WHICH)

10.6. dok ----------> Ø (1)

10.7. dok ----------> when (1)

----------> Ø

DOK

----------> WHEN

6.2. Relative clauses with introductory IT

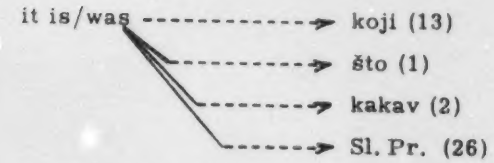
Of 800 English relative clauses (the First Corpus of examples) 42 are relative clauses with introductory IT. Of these 16 are translated into Croatian as relative clauses and 26 are free translations (Sl. Pr.)

These clauses may in English be differentiated according to the antecedent, use of relative pronouns, and function of the relative pronoun in the relative clause.

Table II.dl. antecedent, relative pronoun, and function of the relative pronoun in the clause

a	RP	S	O
H	who	12	-
	that	2	-
	Ø	1	1
NH	which	2	1
	that	13	1
	Ø	-	8

Table II. d2. translation equivalents of English relative clauses with introductory IT



English relative clauses with introductory IT and translation equivalents in Croatian:

who(R-S) ----------> koji (2)
who(NR-S) ----------> koji (1)
who(R-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (8)
who(NR-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
12

which(R-S) ----------> kakav(1)
which(R-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
which(R-O) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
3

that(H-S) ----------> koji(1)
that(NH-S) ----------> koji(2)
that(NH-O) ----------> koji(1)
that(NH-S) ----------> što(1)
that(H-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
that(NH-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (9)
that(NH-O) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
16

Ø (H-O) ----------> koji(1)
Ø (NH-O) ----------> koji(4)
Ø (NH-O) ----------> kakav(1)

Ø (H-S) ----------> Sl. Pr. (1)
Ø (NH-O) ----------> Sl. Pr. (3)
10

where(NH) ---------> koji(1)
Total: 42 (16 relative clauses ÷ 26 free translations/Sl. Pr. /)

Relative clauses with introductory IT may be classified as:

a) Emphatic (Emph.), that is those in which the antecedent of the relative clause is emphasized, e. g. :

It was the old MacArthur who stepped out of his plane...

b) Anteceding(Ant.), that is those in which IT refers to some word which was mentioned before in the text, e. g. :

... he thought it was the cleverest combination he had ever heard of.

In the second example we "feel" that IT is used instead of some word which was probably mentioned before in the text. In this case instead of IT we may use this, that, or even the word that IT replaces. It is sometimes very difficult to decide the nature of IT.

This Emph. structure does not exist in Croatian, and translations require substantial changes. We shall mark these translations as emphatic (which keep emphasis in Croatian too but in a different way than in English) and non-emphatic (which have lost emphasis in Croatian).

ENGLISH (original) ----------> CROATIAN (translation)

Rel. Pr.	Ant.	Emph.	Rel. Pr. (Sl. Pr.)	Non-emph.	Emph.
1. who(S)	-	3	koji	2	1
2. that(S)	-	3	koji	1	2
3. that(O)	1	0	koji	1	-
4. Ø(O)	5	-	koji	5	-
5. where	1	-	koji	1	-
6. that(S)	-	1	što	1	-
7. which(S)	-	1	kakav	1	-
8. Ø(O)	1	-	kakav	1	-
	8 +	8		13 +	3
II					
9. who(S)	-	3	Sl. Pr.	-	3
10. that(S)	-	2	Sl. Pr.	-	2
11. who(S)	-	6	Sl. Pr.	6	-
12. that(S=6, O=1)	-	7	Sl. Pr.	7	-
13. Ø(S)	-	1	Sl. Pr.	1	-
	-	19		14 +	5
14. which(S=1, O=1)	2	-	Sl. Pr.	2	-
15. that(S)	2	-	Sl. Pr.	2	-
16. Ø(O)	3	-	Sl. Pr.	3	-
	7			7	

This may be shown in the following way:

	English	Croatian
I.	it is/was+a+Rel. Cl. (Emph. Ant.)	----> Rel. Cl. (Emph. Non-emph.)
II.	it is/was+a+Rel. Cl. (Emph. Ant.)	----> Sl. Pr. (Emph. Non-emph.)

It can be seen that the emphasis found in the English original has been lost in many examples. In Croatian translation the emphasis has sometimes been kept by using the words baš, pa, etc.

The translation depended in many cases on the translator.

Examples:

(1) It was the old MacArthur who stepped out of the plane on his first Australian airstrip. (PAMI 21 p. 12)
Bio je to onaj stari MacArthur koji je izišao iz aviona kad je prvi put sletio u Australiji. (PASR 21 p. 18)

(2) It was a type of understanding which could have come to him only at this moment, ... (MANA 57 p. 18)
Bio je to osjećaj razumijevanja, kakav ga je mogao prožeti samo u ovom času, ... (MAGO 57 p. 18)

(3) It was Dixie who asked him to work this time, ... (JOFR 78 p. 25)
Ovaj put ga je baš Dixie zamolio da trenira s njime, ... (JOOD 78 p. 30)

(4) It is he that has the hook in his mouth. (HEOL 57 p. 44)
Pa njoj je udica u ustima, a ne meni. (HEST 57 p. 311)

It seems that in sentences (1), (3) and (4) the emphasis is in the English and in the Croatian translation, while in sentence (2), in English there is anteceding IT (no emphasis), and in the Croatian translation there is no emphasis either (non-emphatic).

6.3. Contrastive analysis of English relative clauses and corresponding free translations in Croatian

In the First Corpus of examples there are 182 English relative clauses which are translated into Croatian with various structures, i.e. free translations (Sl. Pr.) and not with relative clauses.

As a relative clause is an attributive clause, the translators used other linguistic possibilities in Croatian to express these attributive relations. Examining these translations it can be shown that all these English relative clauses could have been translated by Croatian relative clauses.

All these clauses will be classified into 12 groups according to similarities and differences in English examples and corresponding Croatian translations.

1. a+Rel. Cl. (who-8, that-5, Ø -6) ----------> S(=a)+G

(the antecedent of the English Rel. Cl. is the subject (S) of the Croatian sentence which is followed by a verb (G).

(1) Not so Lodovico, who now went through the inverse process of the morning's seduction. (STAG 23 p. 15)
Ali Lodovico je sada prolazio procesom obrnutim od jutarnjeg zavodjenja. (STAG 23 p. 16)

(x) Ali ne Lodovico, koji je sada prolazio...

The above example marked by (x) shows the possible translation into Croatian with a relative clause too.

2. a+Rel. Cl. (who-5, which-2) ----------> Sentence (the translation is a sentence or a clause)

(1) Job, who had kept out twenty five dollars, walked directly to Potter's Furnishings. (THNO 53 p. 27)
Pošto je odvojio dvadeset pet dolara, Job krene prvo prema Pottersovoj trgovini. (THNE 53 p. 28)

(x) Job, koji je odvojio dvadeset pet dolara,...

3. a+Rel. Cl. (to be + adj.) ----------> H+adj. (H=a; Eadj. =C adj.)
(which-2
that-6)
(The antecedent of the English Rel. Cl. becomes the headword of the Croatian structure with the adjective which is translated from the English Rel. Cl.)

be-> Ø

(1) ... and Salinas for the Alkali which was white as salt.
(STEA 13 p. 4)

... Salinas zbog lužne zemlje bijele kao so. (STIS 13 p. 13)

(x) lužne zemlje koja je bila bijela ...

4. a+Rel. Cl. (be+p. p.) ----------> H(=a)+verbal adjective
(which-3
that-2
whose-1)
(in the Croatian translation there is no verb to be)

be-> Ø

(1) ... along the curving Via dei Bentaccordi, which had been built on the oval site... (STAG 3 p. 8)

... niz vijugavu Via dei Bentacordi, sagradjenu na ovalnom terenu... (STAG 3 p. 8)

(x) ... Via dei Bentacordi, koja je bila sagradjena...

5. a+Rel. Cl. (be+noun)----------> H(=a)+noun(Headword in the Croatian structure is translated antecedent of the English Rel. Cl. In translation the verb to be is lost)
(who-2
that-3)

be-> Ø

(1) It was hard to accept that he, who was the hub of this known universe, would cease to exist,... (JOFR 56 p. 22)

Bilo mu je teško da sebi predoči da će on, osovina tog njemu poznatog univerzuma, prestati... (JOOD 56 p. 27)

(x) ... on, koji je osovina...

6. a+Rel. Cl. ----------► H(=a)+one or more words (The antecedent of the English Rel. Cl. becomes the headword of the Croatian structure. The English Rel. Cl. is translated by one or more words added to the headword)

(who-5
that-6
which-3
Ø-1)

(1) ... untiring priests who travelled with the soldiers.

(STEA 11 p. 4)

... neumorni svećenici, s[illegible]nici vojnika. (STIS 11)

(x) ... svećenici koji su putovali s vojnicima...

(2) ... and in the light which came with the first lifting of the dawn... (MANA 80 p. 83)

... u prvo[illegible] svjetlu razdanja... (MAGO 80 p. 24)

(x) ... u prvom svjetlu koje se je pojavilo...

7. a+Rel. Cl. ----------► one or more words + H(=a) (The English Rel. Cl. is translated as an attribute of the headword)

(that-5
which-2
Ø-3)

(1) ... the years that had passed... (MANA 53 p. 18)

... proteklih godina... (MAGO 53 p. 18)

(x) ... godinama koje su protekle...

(2) ... a rag which he had soaked in water... (THNO 18 p. 17)

... vodom nakvašenu krpu... (THNE 18 p. 16)

(x) ... krpu koju je nakvasio vodom...

8. a+Rel. Cl. (be+poss. adj.) --------► poss. adj. +H

(who-3
that-1)

(1) ... face of him who was his friend... (JOFR 18 p. 16)

... lice svog prijatelja... (JOOD 18 p. 20)

(x) ... lice onog koji je bio njegov prijatelj...

9. a+Rel. Cl. ----------► Rel. Cl. (with some changes)

(which-4
whose-1
that-6)
Ø-2

(x) To je bilo ono za što sam se rodio.

11.4. a(reason)+Rel. Cl. ---------> Sl. Pr.
(why-3)

(1) ... the reason why he had come home in 1916...
(JOFR 45 p. 20)

... da uvijek razjasni, pogotovu dječaku, zašto se godine 1916... (JOOD 45 p. 74)

(x) ... razlog zbog kojeg se je...

11.5. a+Rel. Cl. ----------> Sl. Pr.
(where-4)

(1) ... a city wnere he was the stranger... (JOFR 24 p. 17)

... u posve strani grad... (JOOD 24 p. 20)

(x) ... grad gdje (u kojem) je bio stranac...

12. a+Rel. Cl. ----------> Sl. Pr. (The examples in this group are heterogeneous)
(who-4
which-8
that-7
Ø-4
whose-3)

(1) ... Job received the first letter he had ever gotten.
(THNO 49 p. 26)

... Job primi prvo pismo u životu. (THNE 49 p. 26)

(x) ... pismo koje je ikad dobio...

7. Contrastive analysis of the Second Corpus of examples

This corpus of examples consists of 400 original English structures which are not relative clauses, and 400 corresponding Croatian translations which are relative clauses (Table III).

Attributive relations in English examples are translated into Croatian with relative clauses (attributive clauses).

In Table III there are 88 examples in which the headword is modified by the ing form. These are translated into Croatian with relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns koji and što. This may be shown in the following way. (The numbers correspond to the left side and top of Table III).

1+2 - 1a+1b: a+rel. (koji, što) ---> H+ing; H+ ing (65)

In 65 examples the structures H+ing and H, +ing are deleted relative clauses. The headword carries the main meaning and the ing form modifies its meaning. The headword translated into Croatian becomes the antecedent of the relative clause and the ing form is transformed into a relative clause.

English ------> Croatian
Headword ----> antecedent
ing form -----> relative clause

(1) Ljudi koji su radili po poljima nosili su zaštitne naočare...
(GTIS XVI p. 11)

Men working in the fields wore goggles... (STEA p. 3)

"Men working" is a deleted relative clause "men who were working". This deleted relative clause had to be translated into Croatian by a relative clause because the translation "ljudi radeći" is not acceptable in Croatian.

(2) ... je poveo malog Douglasa, koji je imao puno zlatnih uvojaka... (PASR IV - 14)

... he took young Douglas, wearing a mass of golden curls... (p. 8)

The second example, with the comma, is a deleted non-restrictive relative clause.

All ing forms have additional information after them, e.g.: in the fields (1), a mass of golden curls (2).

Paul Roberts says that if the ing form has no additional information after it, then obligatory shifting in front of the headword is necessary, e.g.:

the woman who was sleeping -----> the woman sleeping -----> the sleeping woman.

1+2+3- 2b: a+rel. (koji, --------> ing+H (23)
što,
čiji)

(1) ... u potjeri za ribom koja je bježala. (HEST XVIII-304)
... as they followed the escaping fish. (p. 31)

(2) ... te muzike što je sve mrvila... (SHML XII-11)
... in the grinding music... (p. 11)

For this group of 88 examples we can make the following rules:

I. 1. a+rel. +(place, <--------> H+ing; H, +ing
object, etc.)

I. 2. a+rel. (no additional information) <---> ing+H

1+2-II: a+rel. (koji, što) ------> H+p. p.; H, +p. p.; p. p. +H(56)

In this case modifiers are past participles. Past participial phrases are deleted relative clauses or, in case when the past participle is in front of the headword, there is additional transformation.

(1) Nekom djevojkom koja se zove Jennifer...(MEPO XVI-26)
To a girl named Jennifer... (p. 29)

(2) ... umotana u mrtvačku ponjavu što ju je potajice napravila,... (STIS XVII-22)
... dressed in a secretly made shroud. (p. 11)

For these examples we can make the following rules:

II. 3. a+rel. <----> H+p. p. ; H, +p. p.

II. 4. a+rel. <----> p. p. +H

In the next group of 62 examples the English headword modified by a prepositional phrase is translated with a Croatian relative clause.

H+pr. ph. ----> a+rel. (a=H; pr. ph. =rel.) - (62)

(1) ... lice na kome su se naslućivali kratki zalisci i brkovi... (STAG XIV-14)

... face with its suggestion of sideburns and mustache,... (p. 14)

(2) ... avion koji je poletio s ... (PASR X - 18)

... plane off... (p. 12)

The second example is a deleted relative clause, i. e. "plane which took off".

The rule for this group of examples is:

III. 5. a+rel. <------> H+ pr. ph.

In 49 examples the modifier of the headword is an adjective which is in front of or after the headword. By deletion of the relative clause in English the adjective comes after the headword, and then, if the adjective is simple, there is obligatory transformation, e. g. :

a man angry ---------> an angry man, but in "a man angry about something", there is no transformation.

(1) ... nekoliko likova koji se na toj udaljenosti nisu mogli pravo razabrati. (JOOD XVI p. 21)

... figures indistinct in the distance ... (p. 18)

(2) ... do prozora što je gledao na ulicu. (MEPO XXIV p. 23)

... to one of the front windows. (p. 25)

The rule for this group of examples may be:

IV. 6. a+rel. ⟵⟶ H+adj.

IV. 7. a+rel. ⟵⟶ adj. +H (simple adjective)

In 22 examples the modifier of the headword is an infinitive (translated into Croatian with a relative clause).

(1) ... samo djeca koju treba podići. (BEDO XII p. 10)

... and children to bring up. (p. 10)

(2) ... novo sjeme koje će se posijati ... (THNE XXXII p. 32)

... new seed to be planted, ... (p. 32)

The infinitives are translated into Croatian by different tenses. The following rule may be used for this group of examples:

V. 8. a+rel. ⟵⟶ H+inf.

In 59 examples the English structure (which is translated with a Croatian relative clause) consists of one or more nouns (for abbreviations see Table III). This group of examples may be subdivided into 9 groups:

I - 7. 9. a+rel. (koji, sto, etc.) ↔

a) H+N (3)
b) ing (4)
c) SG+ing+N; SG+H (2)
d) N+H (11)
e) N+N (2)
f) H+Ø (14)
g) (adj.)+N; (poss. adj.)+N (5)
h) N+Ø (13)
i) Ø (1)

Examples (one from each group):

(1) ... ovaj opet tonu[illegible] rad, koji se sastojao od sanjarenja o kronici Buonarrotijevih, ... (STAG XXXVI p. 16)

... he sank into his work-reverie of the Buonarroti records, ... (p. 15)

(2) ..., one koji vole... (BEDO XII p. 15)

..., the loving... (p. 15)

(3) ... osjeti težinu male tune koja je drhtavo trzala njime. (HEST XXIV p. 307)

... he felt the weight of the small tuna's shivering pull... (p. 35)

(4) Ali sada su mjeseci u kojima dolaze hurikani,...

(HEST XXXVII p. 318)

But now they were in hurricane months... (p. 59)

(5) Čovjek koji je tucao boju lijeno je vrtio...

(STAG XVII p. 12)

The color grinder was twirling... (p. 12)

(6) ... sav onaj metež koji u takvim zgodama nastaje.

(STIS XIX p. 17)

... and cleaned up the mess. (p. 7)

(7) ... od spiska njene opreme koju je donijela u miraz;...

... list of her dowry

(8) ... ušljivi popišanče, koji mokriš u krevet,...

(BEDO XXXVIII p. 18)

you lousy bed-wetter,... (p. 18)

(9) Tako imamo mjesta koja se zovu: San Miguel, San Ardo...

(STIS XXIII p. 13)

We have San Miguel, St. Michael,... (p. 4)

In 18 examples the English structure is introduced with what. These are really subject, object and predicate clauses.

(1) Ono što želim znati je pitanje jamstva,... (THNE XXXVII p. 35)

What I want to know is... (p. 34)

(2) Nadam se da rado jedeš ono, što ti tvoj prostački i prljavi sedlar donosi kući,... (THNE IX p. 16)

... eating what your filthy, disgusting harness maker brings home... (p. 17)

(3) Ono što se posijalo, raslo je... (THNE XXIX p. 32)

... and what had been planted grew... (p. 31)

In the last group (VIII) there are 50 examples which have been put together because they do not belong to any of the seven groups.

(1) Njegova ruka prihvati uzde, koje su padale. (THNE III p. 6)

His hands went up as the reins were dropped. (p. 7)

(2) ... a u pogledu, što ga je ispod oka bacio preko obronka...

(SHML XXXVIII p. 21)

... and squinted out across the slope,... (p. 18)

These structures could be practised at an advanced level of learning and exercises made according to the above rules.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Only some general conclusions are given here. These might be used in grammar writing or teaching.

1. Relative clauses with antecedent are not dealt with separately in Croatian grammars. If we agree that relative clauses with antecedent may form a separate grammatical unit, then these clauses should be dealt with in our grammars too.
2. In English textbooks for Croatian students special attention should be given to practicing those relative clauses which are used most in present-day English. English language students should be able to recognize forms ... which the relative pronoun is the subject, object or prepositional object of the relative clause. The research has shown that according to the function of the relative pronoun, present-day English uses different relative pronouns or zero-relative.
3. In nearly 50% of the examples, a relative clause in one language corresponds to some other structure in the second language. In the corpus of 1200 examples there are 582 such cases (400 relative clauses in Croatian translation correspond to 400 various structures in the English original, and 182 relative clauses in English correspond to 182 various Croatian structures). It would be very useful to practice these structures at an advanced stage of learning English or Croatian.*

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* I am grateful to W. Browne for useful comments.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(For other abbreviations see Bibliography I and II and Tables I, II and III)

R	restrictive relative clause
NR	nonrestrictive relative clause
a	antecedent
H	human
NH	non-human
a=H	antecedent is human
a=NH	antecedent is not human, it is an animal or a thing
S	subject
O	object
p	preposition
pO	prepositional object
Ø	zero-relative
RP	relative pronoun
RP=S	relative pronoun is the subject of the relative clause
RP=O	relative pronoun is the object of the relative clause
cl.	clause
Cl.	clause
a=cl.	antecedent of the relative clause is a whole clause
Rel. Cl.	relative clause
Eo	English original
Ct	Croatian translation
Sl. Pr.	free translation (Slobodni prijevod)
H	headword
rel.	Croatian relative clause (translation of some other English structure and not a relative clause)
a+rel. (koji)	Croatian relative clause introduced by koji with its antecedent

p.	page
First Corpus	800 English relative clauses translated by 618 Croatian relative clauses anu 182 free translations
Second Corpus	400 English structures (non-relatives) and 400 Croatian relative clauses
---------->	gives, is translated, etc.

Explanations and additional abbreviations for
Table I and II

In the vertical column a, from 1-7, are linking words/RP, Ø, RA/ introducing an English relative clause, number of examples and the percentage in relation to 800 examples.
In the vertical column b, from 1-7, are restrictive and non-restrictive clauses, human and non-human antecedents, and relative adverbs.

In the vertical column c, from 1-7, there are data showing if the relative pronoun is subject (S) or object (O) in the relative clause, and relative clauses as adverbial adjuncts (6). In the vertical column d, from 1-7, are relative clauses with introductory it and with prepositions.

From 1-16 in Table I are writers and their works with data concerning columns a, b, and c.

From 1-10 in Table II are introductory words in Croatian relative clauses and in column 11 are free translations .

Rel. Adv. =RA=relative adverb(relative clauses introduced by relative adverbs)

Adv. Adj. =A. a. = adverbial adjunct (relative clauses as adverbial adjuncts)

it= relative clauses with introductory it

p. = preposition (relative clauses with prepositions)

Table I

RP + Ø + RA	R + WR H + WH RA	S + O A . a .	it + be p
a	b	c	d
1 WHO = 203 (25,38%)	1 R = 146 (18,25 %)	1 S = 138 (17,25)	it = 10
		2 O = 8 (1,00%)	p = 6
	2 WR = 57 (7,12 %)	3 S = 50 (6,25%)	it = 2
		4 O = 7 (0,88%)	p = 6
2 WHICH = 116 (14,50%)	3 R = 93 (11,62 %)	5 S = 46 (5,75%)	it = 3
		6 O = 47 (5,85%)	p = 36
	4 WR = 23 (2,88 %)	7 S = 16 (2,00%)	
		8 O = 7 (0,88%)	p = 2
3 WHICH = 3 (0,38%)	5 → 3	9 → 3	
4 WHOSE = 19 (2,37%)	6 H = 13 (1,63%)	10 R = 5 WR = 8 → 13	
	7 WH = 6 (0,75%)	11 R = 6 WR = 0 → 6	
5 THAT = 205 (25,62%)	8 H = 9 (1,12 %)	12 S = 6 (0,74 %)	it = 2
		13 O = 3 (0,38%)	p = 1
	9 WH = 196 (24,50%)	14 S = 152 (19%)	it = 13
		15 O = 44 (5,50%)	it = 1 p = 2
6 Ø = 206 (25,75 %)	10 H = 27 (3,38 %)	16 S = 3 (0,38 %)	it = 1
		17 O = 24 (3 %)	it = 1 p = 3
	11 WH = 179 (22,38%)	18 S = 1 (0,12%)	
		19 O = 140 (17,50)	it = 8 p = 9
		20 A.a. = 38 (4,75%)	
7 RA = 48 (6%)	12 WHERE = 36 (4,50 %)	21 → 36	it = 1
	13 WHEN = 9 (1,12%)	22 → 9	
	14 WHY = 3 (0,38%)	23 → 3	
800	800	800	it = 42, p = 65

	1 SHYU			2 JOFR			3 BEAD			4 PAMI			5 MAJA			6 MERE			7 STAG			8 HEOL			9 STEA			10 THWO		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
1	30	22	21 / 1	20	17	13 / /	23	17	15 / 2	27	22	22 / /	9	8	7 / 1	22	18	16 / 2	22	9	8 / 1	7	7	7 / /	24	13	13 / /	6	1	1 / /
		8	7 / 1		3	3 / /		11	8 / 3		5	4 / 1		1	1 / /		4	4 / /		13	11 / 2		/	/ /		5	5 / /		1	1 / /
2	9	7	1 / 6	1	1	/ / 1	7	5	2 / 3	5	3	3 / /	19	13	8 / 5	4	4	2 / 2	28	20	9 / 11	10	8	3 / 1	12	12	9 / 3	21	20	5 / 15
		2	1 / 1		/	/ / /		2	2 / /		2	1 / 1		6	6 / /		/	/ / /		8	3 / 5		2	2 / /		/	/ / /		1	1 / /
3	1	1	1	/	/	/	1	1	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1	1	1
4	1	1	1 / /	2	/	/ 2 2	5	5	5 / /	1	1	1 / /	3	1	1 / 2 2	1	1	1 / /	3	2	2 / 1 1	/	/	/ / /	/	/	/ / /	3	2	2 / 1 1
5	21	1	1 / /	32	/	/ / /	13	1	/ 1	18	2	1 / 1	7	/	/ / /	25	2	2 / /	18	/	/ / /	43	2	1 / 1	22	1	1 / /	8	/	/ / /
		20	15 / /		32	25 / 7		12	7 / 5		16	15 / 1		7	6 / 1		23	18 / 5		18	13 / 5		41	29 / 12		21	20 / 1		6	/ / 2
6	12	1	/ 1	17	3	/ 3	22	2	/ 2	26	4	1 / 3	35	9	1 / 8	21	3	/ 3	7	/	/ /	12	1	1 / /	21	1	/ 1	33	3	/ 3
		11	8 / 3		14	1 / 9 4		20	17 / 3		22	17 / 5		26	18 / 8		18	13 / 5		7	7 / /		11	10 / 1		20	15 / 5		30	25 / 7
7	6	5	5 / 1 1	8	6	6 / / /	4	4	4 / / /	3	2	2 / 1 /	7	4	4 / 2 2 / 1	7	7	7 / / /	2	1	1 / 1 1 / /	8	7	7 / 1 1 / /	/	/	/ / / /	3	3	3 / / /

Table II

	a	b	c	d IT + BE	1. KOJI	2. ŠTO	3 TKO	4 ČIJI	5. KAKAV	6. KOLIKO	7. GDJE	8. KADA	9. KAKO	10. DOK	11 SL. PR.
				a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c	a b c
1	WHO 203 reč = 25,38 %	R = 146 reč = 18,25 %	S = 138 reč = 17,25 %	12 10 10	158 114 106 (51+2)	3 3	5 5								37 24 24 (21+3)
			O = 8 reč = 1,0 %	2 2	44 8										13 11 (11+3)
		UR = 57 reč = 7,12 %	S = 50 reč = 6,25 %			3	5								2
			O = 7 reč = 0,88 %		39 (31+1)										
2	WHICH 116 reč = 14,50 %	R = 93 reč = 11,62 %	S = 46 reč = 5,75 %	3 3 2	70 55 22	13 10 5			1 1 (1+1)	1 1	1 1	1 1	1 1		28 23 15 (13+2)
			O = 47 reč = 5,86 %	1	33	5						1			8 (4+1)
		UR = 23 reč = 2,88 %	S = 16 reč = 2,0 %		15 8	3 3									5 5
			O = 7 reč = 0,88 %		7										
3	WHICH 2 reč =	(a = clause 0,38 %)				3									
4	WHOSE 19 reč = 2,37 %	a-H = 13 reč = 1,63 %			5 5			9 6 3							5 2 3
		a-WH = 6 reč = 0,72 %													
5	THAT 205 reč = 25,62 %	a-H = 9 reč = 1,12 %	S = 6 reč = 0,74 %	16 2 2	101 5 (5+1)	40	1 1		2	2	2	1			58 3 (1+1) 2
			O = 3 reč = 0,38 %	14 13	96 46 (31+2)	40 24 (21+1)			2 1 1	2 1 1	2 1 1	1 1			55 45 (43+2)
		a-WH = 196 reč = 24,50 %	S = 152 reč = 19 %	1	20 (11+1)	11									10 (7+1)
			O = 44 reč = 5,50 %												
6	Ø 206 reč = 25,75 %	a-H = 27 reč = 3,38 %	S = 3 reč = 0,38 %	10 2 1	91 17 17 (13+1)	49 4 4	3 3	1	2	1		8	3	1	47 3 (2+1)
			O = 24 reč = 3 %	1	1			1 1	2 2 (1+1)	1 1					
		a-WH = 179 reč = 22,38 %	S = 1 reč = 0,12 %	8 8	74 12 (11+1)	45 43						8 8	3 3	1 1	44 24 (21+3)
			O = 140 reč = 17,50 %		1	2									23
			Adv = 38 reč Adj = 4,75 %												
7	REL ADV 48 reč = 5 %	WHERE	= 36 reč = 4,50 %	1 1	12 (11+1)						20 20			1 1	7 4
		WHEN	= 9 reč = 1,12 %									8 8			
		WHY	= 3 reč = 0,38 %												3
				42	437	108	9	10	5	2	23	18	4	2	182

ABBREVIATIONS FOR TABLE III

a	antecedent
rel.	Croatian relative clause corresponding to some other structure in English original
H	headword of a group of words in English which in translation becomes the antecedent of the Croatian relative clause (H+ing, ing+H, etc.)
ing	ing form (H+ing, N+ing, etc.)
p. p.	past participle (H+p. p., p. p. +H, etc.)
pr. ph.	prepositional phrase
adj.	adjective
inf.	infinitive
N	Noun
SG	Saxon Genitive
Ø	zero-form (in English) corresponding to some information in Croatian translation
S.	sentence
v.	verb
what	English structure beginning with what
what+S	what is the object of the English sentence
what+v.	after what is a verb of the sentence of which what is a subject
H+v.	(H is a subject) - translated into Croatian by a relative clause
Gw	Group of words which is translated into Croatian with a relative clause

Table III

				I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
				ing = 88	p.p. = 56	pr.ph=62	adj = 49	inf=22	N = 55	What=18	Gw = 50	
1	a + rel. (koji) = 291	35	H + ing = 47	a	H + ing = 65	1						
		14	H_1 + ing = 18	b								
2	a + rel. (što) = 97	19	ing + H = 23	a	ing + H = 23	2						
3	a + rel. (čiji) = 3	33	H + p.p. = 35	a	H + pp = 51	3						
		15	H_1 + p.p. = 16	b								
4	a + rel. (čime) = 2	4	pp + H = 5	a	pp + H = 5	4						
5	a + rel. (kakav) = 5	40	H + pr.ph. = 57	a	H + pr.ph. = 62	5						
		3	H + like = 5	b								
6	a + rel. (gdje) = 1	12	H + adj = 14	a	H + adj = 27	6						
		13	H_1 + adj = 13	b								
7	a + rel. (kad) = 1	17	adj + H = 20	a	adj + H = 22	7						
		2	adj + H_1 = 2	b								
		17	H + inf = 22	a	H + inf = 22	8						
		2	H + N = 3	a	N = 55	9						
		1	H + N + ing = 4	b								
		2	SG + ing + N = 2	c								
		4	SG + H = 11	d								
		2	N + H = 2	e								
		10	N + N = 14	f								
		4	H + Ø = 14	g								
		3	adj + N(poss) = 5	h								
		1	N + Ø = 13	i								
		2	Ø = 1									
		11	What + S = 13	a	What + $\overset{5}{V}$ = 18	10						
		4	What + V = 5	b								
		6	H + V = 13	a	V = 14	11						
		1	V = 1	b								
		9	H + S (H = 0) = 9	a	S = 13	12						
		3	H + S (H ≠ 0) = 3	b								
		1	where + S = 1	c								
		2	H + Gw / Gw + H = 3	a	H + Gw / Gw + H / Gw = 23	13						
		15	Gw = 20	b								

THE YUGOSLAV SERBO-CROATIAN - ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE PROJECT

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